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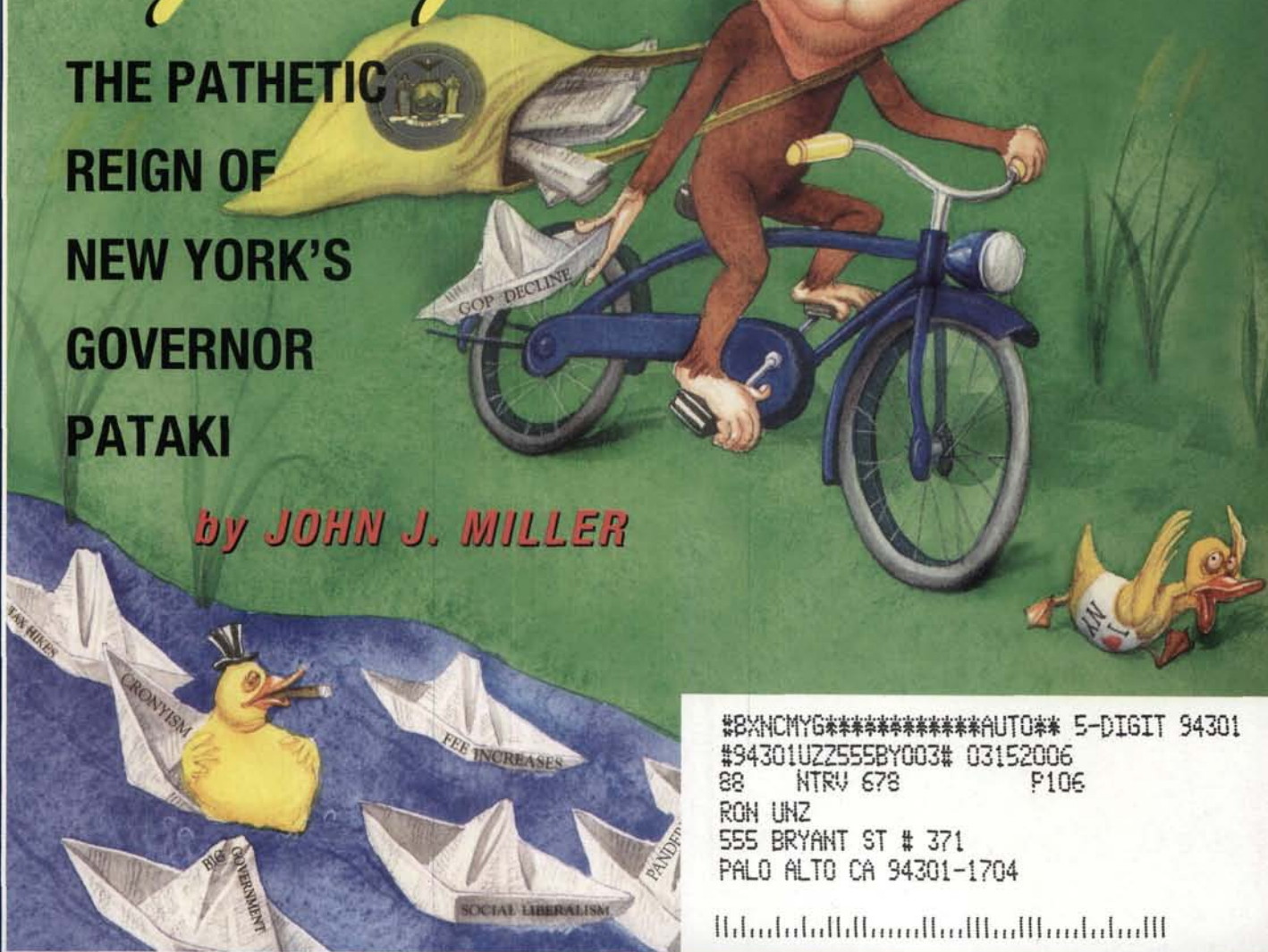
Paul Johnson, David Pryce-Jones: After Iraq's Election

# NATIONAL REVIEW

## Spurious George

THE PATHETIC  
REIGN OF  
NEW YORK'S  
GOVERNOR  
PATAKI

by **JOHN J. MILLER**



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## ■ COVER STORY

# The GOP's Pataki Problem

Ten years ago, George Pataki had a chance to become one of America's great governors. Today, he presides over a state that ranks dead last in a notable survey of economic freedom. His tenure as New York's chief executive began with incredible promise—but its legacy almost certainly will be one of squandered opportunity, shrunken ambition, and conservative disappointment. *By John J. Miller*

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## letters to the editor

### OUTING ATATURK

In "Gay Old Times?" (Dec. 27) Victor Davis Hanson writes that Alexander the Great "might even have often enjoyed male outlets in the manner of Frederick the Great or Kemal Ataturk." I respectfully ask what Mr. Hanson's source is for this offhand assertion about Ataturk.

I don't believe anything resembling this assertion appears anywhere in *Ataturk: The Rebirth of a Nation* by Patrick Balfour (1964). Andrew Mango's 1999 *Ataturk: The Biography of the Founder of Modern Turkey* is a little friendlier to the idea, though not by much, tracing it to a single remark made by Lloyd George to King George V in 1921. Mango dismisses the assertion as unsubstantiated, motivated by malice and a desire to shock the king. Several of Ataturk's contemporary enemies attacked him for being a congenital skirt-chaser, but only Lloyd George made this particular assertion, and only one time—unless Mr. Hanson knows better.

Lloyd George isn't exactly an unbiased source on Ataturk, either. It was he who egged the Greeks on to invade Turkey after the First World War, where they met defeat at the hands of the Turkish ruler. The collapse of the Greek adventure ended Lloyd George's political career.

I find it odd—indeed, ironic—that Mr. Hanson's assertion comes in an article whose argument is that we shouldn't take at face value similar assertions about Alexander the Great.

Kerem Bilg   
Baku, Azerbaijan

VICTOR DAVIS HANSON REPLIES: Kerem Bilg  should reread what I wrote. Neither of us knows exactly what was behind the rumors of male companionship associated with Alexander the Great, Frederick the Great, and, yes, Mustafa Kemal—thus my deliberately vague "male outlets." *Pace* Bilg , my reference indeed drew on the classic biography by Patrick Balfour, in which the author suggested that the Turkish hero enjoyed something that might fit under a rubric like "male outlets": "Women, for Mustafa [Ataturk], were a means of satisfying masculine

appetites, little more; nor, in his zest for experience, would he be inhibited from passing adventures with young boys, if the opportunity offered and the mood, in this bisexual *fin de si cle* Ottoman age, came upon him."

### FALSE IDOLS

A few words concerning Jay Nordlinger's excellent piece on "Che [Guevara] chic" (Dec. 31): Communist icons inevitably are found out. We need to look no further than the deaths of some 5,000 Polish officers, murdered by Communist firing squads in the Katyn Forest. The Kremlin laid the blame for this act on the Nazis, and succeeded in convincing nearly the entire world.

When those of us who knew better voiced the truth, no one listened. We, and the 5,000 murdered, would have to wait until the collapse of the Soviet Union, when the Kremlin finally admitted blame for the atrocity.

It is the same with Che Guevara. I knew Che Guevara. He was an assassin, unscrupulous to the core. Many died at his hands, and many more died on his orders. His legend is pure fiction, masterfully manipulated by his fellow Communists and the nostalgic Left. Add to their numbers every misguided liberal, a gullible multitude resembling the deluded masses who believed the cowardly lies of the Communists about Katyn.

Che adulators and fans miss the logical conclusion: Had the object of their adoration and his ideology triumphed, the Communist system would have been imposed worldwide, bearing the bitterest fruits: total loss of personal freedom, execution for dissent, concentration camps, an end to religious expression, and to a free press. Stalin's Russia replicated across a global stage. That is the legacy Che Guevara intended for us—for all of us, including those who adulate him.

The cult of defending dictators and their henchmen is a repeating, albeit illogical, phenomenon. Che Guevara is a tired old tale.

Armando Valladares  
[Author of *Against All Hope*]  
Miami, Fla.

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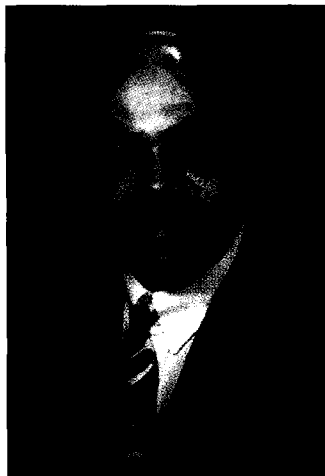
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# THE WEEK

■ We heard that there was an irregularity in the Iraqi election: another 412 votes discovered for Washington “governor” Christine Gregoire.

■ It seemed the 2004 elections would provide a “teachable moment” for the Democratic party. Apparently not. Howard Dean will be selected the new chairman of the Democratic National Committee, in defiance of every possible lesson from the party’s recent defeat. He is a northeastern liberal who is aggressively secular and believes the party can prevail by shouting its orthodoxies ever more loudly. In the course of his DNC campaign, he announced that he “hates” Republicans. His victory is a sign that the party’s left-wing base has an unquenchable thirst for irrelevance. It also is a testament to the incompetence of the Democrats’ congressional leadership. Senate minority leader Harry Reid and House minority leader Nancy Pelosi couldn’t manage to find a plausible alternative, as their designated candidate, former representative Tim Roemer, sank without a trace because of his undue regard for unborn life and his past interest in modernizing Social Security. Dean’s ascension is bad for the Democrats and—insofar as we all have an interest in a responsible Democratic party—bad for the country.

■ Sen. Evan Bayh of Indiana is a moderate Democrat. He voted for the Iraq war, and has remained a vocal defender of it. He has voted to ban partial-birth abortion, which caused the National Organization for Women to warn Al Gore against picking him as a running mate in 2000. Now Bayh wants to run for president. So to score points with the party’s Left—which sometimes seems to be all that’s left of the party—he joined the Barbara Boxers and Ted Kennedys in the Senate to vote against Condoleezza Rice. We suspect that the Left will not forgive him for his other votes. All he has accomplished with this vote is to subtract from his reputation for sober-minded statesmanship.

■ Hillary Clinton won plaudits for saying that abortion is a tragedy and that all Americans should agree to take steps to reduce its incidence, such as funding sex education and contraception. The speech made the political splash she wanted, and made her appear moderate. But she has conceded nothing of substance. She still opposes legal protections for the unborn, even against partial-birth abortion. (Her aides quickly shot down the idea that she had changed her mind about even parental notification.) It has been many years since any prominent pro-abortion politician celebrated abortion as a good thing: “Safe, legal, and rare” was a slogan originally popularized by the abortion lobby. We are glad that Senator Clinton says that abortion is a tragedy. We hope that one day she sees that the reason it is a tragedy is that it takes the life of human beings who have a claim on our protection, and offers them more than rhetoric.



*The Traveler*

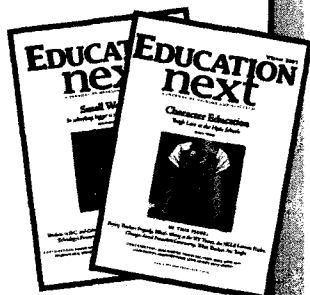
■ Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice wowed the Europeans on her first trip abroad. Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder looked positively smitten, and anyone who has ever been around Rice will understand why. Her charm offensive, however, came with a flash of steel, as she didn’t give an inch on President Bush’s agenda. What a relief to have a secretary of state actively engaged in selling U.S. policy abroad rather than trying to undermine it at home, as her predecessor often did. But we still worry, given some of her early personnel decisions, that Rice may risk getting captured over the long run by the Foggy Bottom bureaucracy. That it is why it so important to make sure that committed, serious conservatives like John Bolton—currently undersecretary for arms control—feature prominently in the second term. For now, however, all we can say is: Bravo, Madame Secretary.

■ Joe Lieberman may be wrong about a number of things, but when it comes to the War on Terror he has proven himself stalwart. Back in August we noted that the senator—alone among speakers at the Democratic convention—congratulated the U.S. military on its liberation of Afghanistan and Iraq. Now he has defended newly confirmed attorney general Alberto Gonzales. Lieberman—one of only six Democrats to vote yea on the nomination—not only defended the legitimacy of Gonzales’s position on whether to apply the Geneva Conventions to terrorists; he also defended the position itself. He expanded on Gonzales’s description of the privileges granted to captured enemies as

# Blind Men and the High School

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It is on everyone's lips: the *next big thing* in education reform is a serious focus on high school. That's what President Bush wants to do, what the Gates Foundation wants to do, and what a vast array of experts and education groups want to do.

And it's about time. **U.S. high school education remains sorely afflicted, both by sky-high dropout rates and by weak academic achievement among those who do finish.**

Yet no consensus has emerged as to what changes are needed. As I deconstruct a cornucopia of reform proposals, they group themselves into six broad solution strategies, each buttressed by a distinctive view of the core problem.

**Problem 1:** Schools aren't accomplishing all they could because they haven't been accountable for their results.

**Solution:** Extend standards-based reform to high schools by holding them to account for their students' achievement, completion rates, and so forth. Many states are doing this already, and the president wants to give it a strong push from Washington.

**Problem 2:** Students are not working hard enough or learning enough because it doesn't "count."

**Solution:** Make students pass statewide graduation tests to earn their diplomas. This version of accountability bears down primarily on kids rather than institutions. Join "tough" with "love" via rewards for success in high school, such as college scholarships for those with solid grades.

**Problem 3:** Too many kids are turning off and dropping out. If they don't stick around, there's no way they'll learn.

**Solution:** Deter dropping out by making high school more appealing; individualize it, let students move at their own pace, and create new options for those who have already fallen off the track.

**Problem 4:** The circa 1950s "comprehensive high school" is dysfunctional and outmoded.

**Solution:** Devise new institutional forms: "early college" high schools, small high schools, schools within schools, virtual high schools, and so on and give young people (and their parents) choices among them.

**Problem 5:** They're not learning because the courses are easy, boring, pointless, and ill-matched to the real world's demands.

**Solution:** Beef up the curriculum. Make advanced placement courses ubiquitous. Strengthen state academic standards. Make college prep the "default" track.

**Problem 6:** Academic work and intellectual activity are no way to the adolescent heart.

**Solution:** Get practical. Focus on "tech prep" ventures that join high schools to community colleges, work-study programs, voluntarism and community service, and other ways of tapping into the emotional, pecuniary, and social sides of young people.

One could slice these strategies differently, but observe how disparate they are. Recall the parable of the blind men and the elephant. Today, **high school reform resembles a cafeteria offering radically different schemes.**

Perhaps we are wise to pursue all of these strategies on grounds that we don't yet know what will work best for whom. But that is also a path to policy confusion and tensions if Washington moves to clamp a single regimen on all of it.

—Chester E. Finn Jr.

*Chester E. Finn Jr. is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution; chairman of Hoover's Koret Task Force on K-12 Education; and president of the Thomas B. Fordham Foundation.*

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## THE WEEK...

"quaint," a remark greeted with some scorn by the judge's critics. "To offer these benefits . . . to Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, who planned the attacks against us on September 11, would not be quaint, it would be offensive," he said. If Lieberman weren't such an outlier among Democrats, it might be possible to take his party seriously again. Until then we'll just have to keep praising the senator for what seems to us like mere common sense.

■ The border between Vietnam and Cambodia remains a perilous spot for Sen. John Kerry. He first claimed to have spent Christmas 1968 there, an experience that he presented as profoundly disillusioning and that was "seared" in his memory. "I

remember what it was like to be shot at by the Vietnamese and Khmer Rouge and Cambodians." Kerry later retreated when this account was challenged. Since the election there has been a new version of Kerry's river ramblings. On a recent *Meet the Press*, he insisted that he was definitely thereabouts, traveling five miles into Cambodia with "CIA special-ops guys" where "we delivered weapons to the Khmer Rouge on the coastline of Cambodia." The Khmer Rouge? Why would Americans have been helping them in 1968? It appears that Kerry has invented some imaginary allies. Sort of like the French?

■ According to the government's survey of payrolls, the unemployment rate has fallen to 5.2 percent, the lowest level since September 11. In the last 20 months, 2.7 million jobs have been created. During President Bush's first term, the economy added 119,000 new jobs. This last statistic would not be particularly important except that Democrats taunted Bush, during his



## The Cole Disaster

ONE of the glories of the blogosphere is that it has enticed some of the titans of academia into the open. Until now, we've had to rely on the mainstream media to inform us of the goings-on in the scholarly groves. Unfortunately, given the ideological sympathies of the elite press, we couldn't appreciate the full range and quality of some academics' asininity. But the ability to indulge one's vanity on the Internet is irresistible to some, and so the delicate creatures of the ivory tower flit out into the bright sunlight—only to discover that the entire world is not populated by fawning undergrads and reverential left-wing journo.

Consider the delicate flower that is Juan Cole, to whom I devoted a couple of brief paragraphs in a recent column. He is a tenured professor at the University of Michigan and the president-elect of the Middle East Studies Association, an organization consumed with the sort of sophisticated, post-modern anti-Americanism we've come to expect from the groves. Cole had dismissed the stunning success of the Iraqi elections, saying he was "appalled" by the positive coverage they received, that the Iranian elections in 1997 were "much more democratic," and that Iraq's elections were really more like a "referendum" than anything else.

These, and other comments by Cole, induced cackles of laughter and derision among conservatives even as the professor became the dashboard saint of lefty Middle East experts. Cole's disingenuousness was thick on the page, er, screen, and was rapidly exposed. It turned out that the Iraqis' system of proportional representation was almost identical to the systems of countless other democratic nations, including South Africa, which in 1994 put Nelson

Mandela in office. That the Iranian elections were "more democratic" is also laughable: The mullahs banned hundreds of potential candidates from running. And Cole's contention that the Iraqi elections were a "referendum" is exactly the point: They were a referendum on democracy, in which millions of voters risked death and the slaughter of their families.

In response to all this, Cole declared: "Jonah Goldberg is a fearmonger, a warmonger, and a demagogue." "Why should we pretend that Jonah Goldberg's opinion on the significance and nature of the elections in Iraq last Sunday matters? It does not." He went on to note that he speaks many languages and has written a book or two. *Goldberg must be wrong, he disagrees with me, and I speak Arabic!* was the upshot of his screed, in which he remained virtually silent on the actual substance of my criticisms.

Other than the gravity-bending vastness of Cole's ego, the problem here is that the issue was never Cole's knowledge but his judgment. And on this score the titan looks Lilliputian. A year ago he said that if Iraq were to have the sort of elections it indeed had on Jan. 30, it would be a triumph for democracy. But his blinding hatred of Bush caused him to reverse course once the president endorsed the elections. He then predicted that they would be a disaster. When they weren't, he claimed the Iranian elections were far superior, even though he had before criticized their undemocratic nature. I am a gruesome warmonger for supporting the Iraq war, but Cole supported it too when it was politically convenient. Whenever questioned on these points, Cole retreats into name-calling and pointing out that he can read Arabic newspapers.

In essence Cole has committed the logical fallacy of appealing to authority. And has compounded it by making that authority himself.

—JONAH GOLDBERG



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# THE WEEK...

reelection campaign, for being the first president since Hoover to have “lost jobs.” Still to be determined are whether economic changes have made the payroll survey less accurate or have made recoveries less robust in creating jobs. Consideration of these questions will doubtless proceed more productively now that campaign taunts are no longer a distraction.

■ In a welcome change from his first few years in office, President Bush plans to impose some restraint on domestic spending. He says that 150 programs will be cut or eliminated. In particular, Bush wants deep cuts in subsidies to farmers and agribusinesses. Those subsidies are hard to justify, redistributing wealth upward as they do. Conservatives should stand with Bush in tightening the budget—should, indeed, push him to go further—both to keep taxes low and to reduce the role of the federal government in American life. If Bush succeeds in reducing Social Security’s future costs and getting these programs cut, 2005 could be the best year for limited government in a long time.

■ The Democratic candidate for governor of Washington state, Christine Gregoire, seemed to lose narrowly on November 2, and then lost a recount as well. Democrats insisted on a manual recount, and, after the state’s most Democratic county “found” thousands of previously uncounted votes and “mistakenly” counted hundreds of never-verified provisional ballots, she was declared governor by a total of 129 votes. But Dino Rossi, the Republican challenger, amassed mountains of evidence showing that the vote counting was hopelessly tainted. He asked a court to authorize a re-vote. The official, legal, Democratic response was: We don’t want to talk about it. It worked for a while. But on February 4, a judge ruled that Democrats will have to actually address the GOP’s evidence, rather than just argue that the issue should not be discussed. The ruling was a major win for Republicans. But the judge also held that he did not have the authority to order a re-vote. Now the best Republicans can hope for is that the judge will ultimately invalidate the election results, which would lead to a special election for governor later this year. In the end, Republicans might get

what they—and the people of Washington—deserve: another vote for governor. Justice delayed, but not denied.

■ Indiana has a Republican governor for the first time in 16 years—and a conservative Republican, with a Republican legislature behind him, at that. And Gov. Mitch Daniels wants to introduce the voters to Republican governance with . . . an increase in the income tax. The governor notes in his defense that he has to balance the budget and is also proposing more restraint in spending than the state has seen in years. He claims that the tax increase would be “temporary.” But the state’s rainy-day fund could be used to avoid any tax increase, and there is plenty of room for spending cuts given the state government’s recent growth. We hope that the governor returns to his usual good sense, with help from his colleagues in the legislature.

■ A New York state judge ordered New York City to accord legal standing to same-sex “marriages.” Mayor Michael Bloomberg greeted the decision by saying that while he supports the concept of same-sex marriage, he thought that the judge had misread state law. He will appeal the decision while asking the legislature to change the law. Bloomberg’s critics say that his position is a “legalistic” straddle. Law-abiding is more like it. Whatever our views on same-sex marriage, we should not be twisting the law to pretend that the public has already ratified it.

■ Terrorists in Iraq claimed to have kidnapped a U.S. soldier after a firefight in which several of his comrades were killed. To bolster this claim, the terrorists posted a picture of the unfortunate serviceman on their website. Strangely, the picture did not show usual identification tags for the alleged captive, and he seemed to be uncommonly stiff and expressionless. The mystery deepened when the U.S. military authorities declared having no knowledge of the firefight in question, nor of any missing troops. Then a spokesman for Dragon Models USA, Inc., a toy manufacturer, came forth to say that the image of the soldier on the terrorist website bore an uncanny resemblance to an action figure made by the company. Further close scrutiny revealed that the abductee was indeed a doll. Quite an embarrassment for the terrorists, one would think; though probably, as Mick Jagger once said of hotel-trashing rock stars: “They don’t embarrass easy.”

■ Who is the bravest man in the world? Ali Fadel is certainly in the running. The new mayor of Baghdad—his predecessor, Ali al-Haidari, was assassinated by terrorists—wants to memorialize George W. Bush. “We will build a statue [of] Bush. He is the symbol of freedom. . . . We are especially grateful to the soldiers of the U.S.A. for freeing our country of tyranny.” Of his own safety, Fadel said, “My life is cheap. Everything is cheap for my country.” Cheap, or priceless.

■ Lt. Gen. James Mattis of the Marine Corps commanded Task Force 58, which secured early turf in Afghanistan in 2001, and the 1st Marine Division, which marched to Baghdad in 2003. Stateside, he told a panel at a conference of a military communications association, “It’s fun to shoot some people. . . . You go into Afghanistan, you got guys who slap women around for five years because they didn’t wear a veil. You know, guys like that ain’t got no manhood left anyway. So it’s a hell of a lot of

## HOW SWEET IT IS

*The crazies triumphed: Dr. Dean’s  
In for McAuliffe. Manic teens—  
Huns at a website—ululate  
For Howard; who, when in a state  
(The doc deploys a world-class spleen)  
Can spook a ghouel on Halloween.  
Who would have thought DNC Dems  
Had such a letch for requiems?*



—W. H. VON DREELE

# It's beginning to dawn on Americans of all persuasions that Islam is no friend

And none too soon, says journalist-scholar Serge Trifkovic, whose alarming new book documents present-day Moslem atrocities on several continents. He also examines:

- ▼ The anti-Christian bias of most major media coverage which, oddly enough, leads to whitewashing of the Islamic faith
- ▼ Actual teachings of both "militant Islam" and allegedly "moderate Islam"
- ▼ Hair-raising elements in the Koran
- ▼ The prophet Mohammed's life and works, in disturbing detail
- ▼ Treatment of females, easy divorce, temporary marriage, quantity of wives: but you've probably heard only a fraction of the horrors Moslem women face
- ▼ Why "right" and "just" in Islam have shifting meanings and are not anchored in God's decrees

▼ Moslem massacres in the past few years

▼ The golden age of Islam—a sobering overview, and one that belies the notion that Moslems are inept

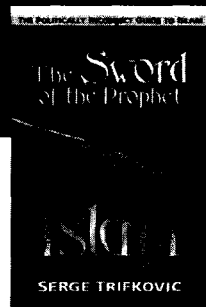
▼ Our ally, Saudi Arabia. A true portrait of the regime

▼ Homosexuality, in the twisted Islamic purview

▼ Moslem minorities in Christian countries: The Koran permits them to adopt a peaceful approach—but only to deceive

▼ Chapter: "Western Appeasement." Why we're afraid, how liberals undermine resolve, what lessons we should take from Europe's recent experience with Moslems

▼ Chapter: "Jihad's Fifth Column." Their operations and scope of activity in our own country



## Over 50 years before Serge Trifkovic's exposé on Islam the great writer Hilaire Belloc warned:

*"I cannot but believe that a main unexpected thing  
of the future is the return of Islam."*

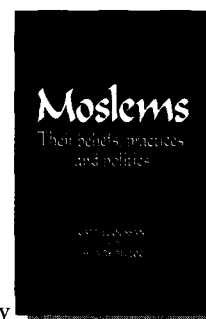
Belloc's words were written in 1936—long before the Christian West permitted millions of Moslems to immigrate and proliferate, building thousands of new mosques in the United States and Europe, including a huge one in Rome itself a few years ago. Belloc's essay on Moslems, together with five important and meaty Catholic Encyclopedia articles by scholar Gabriel Oussani from 1908, comprise this valuable book from Roger A. McCaffrey Publishing. Major themes:

- ▼ What Mohammed actually taught. Why it's heresy
- ▼ How close the Moslems came—as recently as three centuries ago—to dominating Europe by force

▼ Why the Moslem military threat was so real...and then collapsed

▼ The real origins and astonishingly rapid development of Islam

▼ All about the Crusades (and why *do* Church leaders apologize for them?)



Belloc and Oussani's writings make clear that Moslems and Christians don't mix very well. The lesson: Christians need to reproduce to survive. Just as important: Christians cannot share political power with sworn enemies without dire consequences for their children and grandchildren.

|                                                                                                                             |                                                     |         |                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
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# THE WEEK...

fun to shoot them." After the inevitable flap, once the remarks went public, Marine Corps Commandant Michael W. Hagee said the proper, emollient things. "I . . . know he intended to reflect the unfortunate and harsh realities of war." No doubt, no doubt. But the harshest reality of war is that there are men who define their manhood by oppressing their citizens and conspiring against ours. They must be shot, and if those who shoot them on our behalf derive satisfaction from doing so, Godspeed.

■ Jimmy Carter—the man who gave his stamp of approval to the sham election of Palestinian dictator Yasser Arafat in 1996 and to the questionable victory of Venezuelan strongman Hugo Chávez in 2004—decided *not* to put in an appearance during the recent Iraqi elections. The Carter Center, the former president's "human rights" organization, cited security concerns as its reason for sitting on the sidelines in Jordan during the historic event. Carter and his group have surely faced dangerous conditions before: in East Timor, for example, or in Nicaragua. Indeed we can't help thinking there was more to Carter's recent decision than security—some sour grapes, perhaps, about the apparent successes of President Bush's effort to bring democracy to the Middle East. It's a shame, in both senses of that word, that Carter, and the Left generally, begrudge Iraqis their democracy because the one who made it happen is George W. Bush.

■ The pundits are saying that Tony Blair will call for a general election as early as May 5, on the grounds that the polls show him easily defeating the Conservative Michael Howard. To be on the safe side, though, the Labour party has been smearing Howard in ways revealing its own putrescence. First, spin doctors put the word around that Howard is "Transylvanian," a reference to the fact that his family were Jews fleeing from pre-war Romania. Wooing the Islamic vote, a junior minister by the name of Mike O'Brien then wrote in a Muslim paper that Howard could not be trusted to represent Muslims. Howard's shadow chancellor of the exchequer is Oliver Letwin, and he is also Jewish. So the Labour party next posted caricatures of them as Shylock and Fagin, those two undying stereotypes of Jewish untrustworthiness and criminality. At a time when innumerable imams are preaching in their mosques that Jews are the sons of pigs, the Labour party also put up a cartoon of Howard and Letwin as flying pigs. When first elected, Labour promised to set new standards in public life, but hid that this meant a new low, not a high.

■ The liberation of Auschwitz just 60 years ago prompted the United Nations General Assembly to hold a special session concerning the Holocaust. The specious people there seemed to be trying to make amends for the strenuous anti-Israeli and anti-Jewish agenda the U.N. has long pursued. Things didn't quite work out as intended, though: The assembly hall was less than half full, and Jordan was the only Arab country to show up. Over in that other great transnational windmill of humbug, the

European parliament in Brussels, a similar resolution condemned anti-Semitism and remembered the Holocaust victims. Ten European parliamentarians, as yet unidentified, abstained. In Dresden, in the more humble parliament of the German province of Saxony, the twelve members of the neo-Nazi National Democratic party walked out in protest against a motion paying tribute to Holocaust victims. Sixty years on, and still moral defectives. Always moral defectives.

■ We note with regret the passing of Africa's longest-serving head of state, Gnassingbé Eyadéma, president of the Francophone nation of Togo. President Eyadéma came to power 38 years ago, ruled as a dictator until 1991, then permitted regular elections . . . all of which he won, in one case by stopping the vote count and declaring victory. He also won a referendum on his rule, reaping 99.95 percent of the vote on that occasion. Various political opponents unaccountably disappeared throughout Eyadéma's presidency. None of that curbed the enthusiasm of five successive French presidents. Upon hearing the sad news of Eyadéma's death, the fifth of that five, Jacques Chirac, mourned Eyadéma as "a close personal friend of mine and of France." He then expressed his conviction that "the Togolese people will unite democratically in this trial." Alas for Chirac and his convictions: The Togolese military staged a swift coup and installed Faure Essozimna Gnassingbé, the late leader's son, as president. They then amended the national constitution to make everything tickety-boo. Gnassingbé Jr. now joins Bashir Assad and Kim Jong-il in the growing world club of hereditary dictators.

■ Eason Jordan, chief news executive of CNN, broke some big news at the World Economic Forum at Davos, Switzerland. He told a panel that the U.S. military in Iraq targets journalists for killing. Co-panelist Barney Frank called him on this extraordinary assertion, and Jordan began to backpedal, but the damage had been done. Or are there benefits, for CNN? The network truckled to Saddam Hussein for over a decade; Jordan himself admitted, in a *New York Times* op-ed piece after Saddam's fall, that CNN had sat on "gut-wrenching tales" in order to maintain its access. Jordan's outburst now could ingratiate his network with terrorists and terror-masters throughout the region (he was heartily applauded and congratulated by Arab attendees at Davos). So the next CNN "scoop" about the insurgency may be bought with Jordan's smear (and sealed with the blood of the insurgents' victims). A good day at the office for CNN, perhaps.

■ Ward Churchill, a Cherokee Indian, was chairman of the department of ethnic studies at Boulder, Colorado. Hamilton College, in upstate New York, invited him to talk about Indian rights. But then some Churchillian prose, posted online in the wake of 9/11, came to general attention. The people murdered in the World Trade Center, Churchill thought, were not innocent. "They were too busy braying, incessantly and self-importantly, into their cellphones, arranging power lunches and stock transactions, each of which translated, conveniently out of sight, mind and smelling distance, into the starved and rotting flesh of infants. [He was talking about the U.N.-endorsed embargo of Iraq.] If there was a better, more effective, or in fact any other way of visiting some penalty befitting their participation upon

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the little Eichmanns inhabiting the sterile sanctuary of the twin towers, I'd be really interested in hearing about it." What Hamilton and UC-Boulder heard was a storm of outrage. Hamilton yanked the invite, Boulder removed him from his chairmanship. In the fracas, it turned out that Churchill is not a Cherokee; he made that up to land a job. The problem, though, is not Churchill, but the community of which he is a part. Murderous fantasy is within the respectable liberal wing of academic thought (Hamilton invited Susan Rosenberg, a Weather Underground terrorist, to teach last fall). Your children study it, your tax dollars, in many cases, pay for it. Establishing democracy in Iraq will be easier than cleaning those stables.

■ There is a bright spot on the Dartmouth College horizon, namely the possibility that Peter Robinson, known to our readers, will be backed (500 signatures needed) to run for the Dartmouth board. His is a "petition" candidacy, until the signature of the 500th alumnus has been filed. For details, see his website at [www.peter-robinson.org](http://www.peter-robinson.org). His election would mean a great deal. It can't hurt that Peter Robinson graduated from Dartmouth *summa cum laude* (in 1979), or that he is affiliated with the Hoover Institution, where he films every week the talk show that succeeded *Firing Line* (*Uncommon Knowledge*). He is the author of *How Ronald Reagan Changed My Life; It's My Party: A Republican's Messy Love Affair with the GOP*; and *Snapshots from Hell: The Making of an MBA*. It was Peter Robinson, when working as a speechwriter for Ronald Reagan, who coined the phrase, "Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall." That meant Berlin would be free, and Dartmouth would be endowed with Robinson on its board.

■ LeMoyne College, in Syracuse, N.Y., has expelled a student for writing a paper in which he defended the use of corporal punishment in schools. The offender, Scott McConnell, was studying for a masters of education. He was raised in Oklahoma, where, he says, he was himself paddled in the fourth grade for unruly behavior, and benefited greatly from the experience. Oddly, the paper in which McConnell stated his position was graded A-minus and handed back to him without further comment. Only when he later attempted to enroll in classes for the spring semester did he learn that his presence on LeMoyne's campus was no longer desired. There are other oddities here, too. LeMoyne is a Jesuit institution, and Jesuit schoolteachers were until recently known for being rather free with ferule and switch. Perhaps this is a case of the excessive piety of the converted, the Jesuits of LeMoyne having been converted from the original stern precepts of their society to the doctrines of universal niceness and "sensitivity" in which our poor culture is now awash.

■ The Seven Deadly Sins are Pride, Envy, Wrath, Sloth, Lust, Avarice, and Gluttony, traditionally remembered with the aid of the acronym PEWSLAG. Well, goodbye PEWSLAG, hello CABDHGS. A polling organization in Britain asked a thousand citizens to modernize the list. The new deadlies are, in descending order of sinfulness: Cruelty, Adultery, Bigotry, Dishonesty, Hypocrisy, Greed, and Selfishness. Note the interesting shift of emphasis visible here. Formerly the essence of sin lay in offending God by failing to curb one's lower nature. Nowadays sin

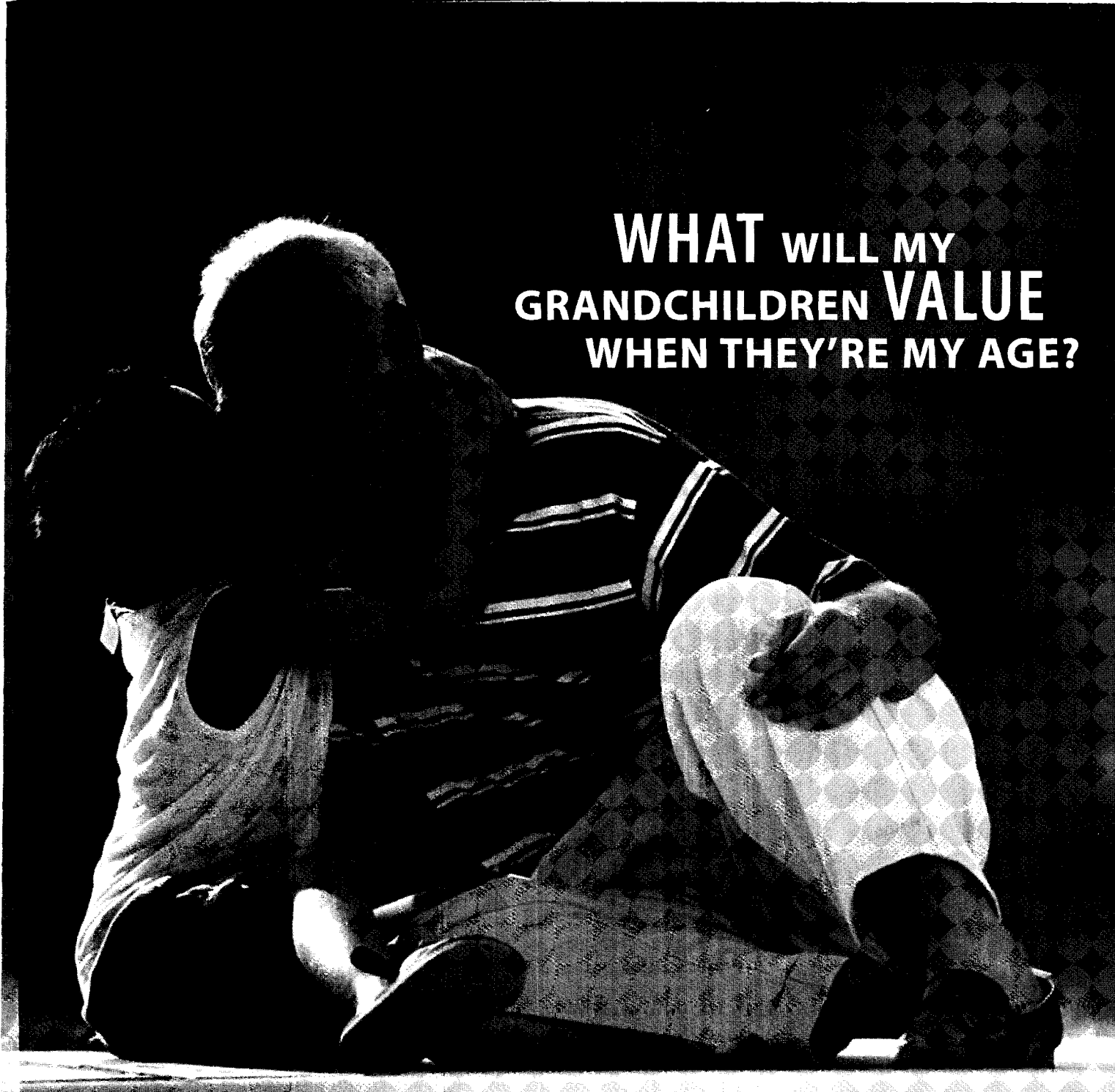
means causing pain or mental distress to other people. To put it another way, virtue used to consist in moral cultivation of the self; now it consists in being nice. Something has been lost here, surely.

■ It is a pity that, in this age of universal niceness, we still have to conduct wars by maiming and killing people. Military technology is working the problem, though. Most recently we learn of efforts to develop a microwave weapon for use in Iraq. When aimed at enemy troops, this weapon will, we are assured, induce nothing more than a burning sensation of the skin, just enough to cause temporary incapacitation. Anyone who has tried to get precision cooking from the common domestic microwave must be skeptical. Even more in tune with the zeitgeist was a Pentagon research effort, now alas abandoned, to develop a "gay bomb"—that is, a chemical weapon whose effect on the enemy would be to arouse him to such a high pitch of homoerotic ardor that he would drop his weapons and embrace his comrades. While we understand that the intentions here are good, we cannot but fear the results should such a device get into the wrong hands. The Super Bowl, for example, might never be the same.

■ One evening last July, two teenaged Colorado girls decided to bake cookies and give them to neighbors as a treat. They accordingly made packages with a half-dozen cookies per, and added large red or pink paper hearts saying, "Have a great night." Then they delivered these packages to their neighbors. Well, well, no good deed goes unpunished, and this one cost the hapless teens \$900. That was the amount a court ordered them to pay to Wanita Renea Young, who was so disturbed by the sight of shadowy figures depositing packages on her porch, she suffered a bilious attack and had to be hospitalized. Ms. Young avowed that her court victory, by contrast with the cookies, was not sweet. "I'm not gloating about it," she told the local newspaper. "I just hope the girls learned a lesson." Oh, we bet they did, they surely did.

■ At last, a happy follow-up to a story we recently covered in this space: the one about the heist of a truck hauling 3.6 million nickels to the Federal Reserve in New Orleans. The "take," in the sinister parlance of the underworld, amounted to \$180,000, but that \$180,000 weighed 22.5 tons. Last week, police in South Miami-Dade County searching a farm for marijuana found not only 88 plants, but a stash of some 900 fifty-pound bags, each containing 4,000 nickels, buried a few feet underground. The whole treasure has been recovered. We wondered, in our last editorial, "who in his right mind" would steal 3.6 million nickels. Now we know the felons might not have been at the time. Perhaps they thought they were stealing a different kind of nickel-bag?

■ Philip Johnson, who died age 98, had an immensely long and successful career as an architect. His critics called him showy and soulless, but he designed at least one superb public space, the Four Seasons restaurant in New York's Seagram Building. If you want to see the top of the world in 1959, you must go there. As was often the case in the 20th century, there was also politics, and it was not pretty. Young Johnson was an aspiring fascist who snuffled around Huey Long and Fr. Coughlin, attended a



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## THE WEEK...

Nuremberg rally, and sympathetically observed the Nazi invasion of Poland. As America slid toward war, he repented, or at least shut up. Sometimes beauty outlives evil, which is a consolation, though no excuse. R.I.P.

■ Max Schmeling, German boxer, was heavyweight champion of the world from 1930 to 1932. But his position in boxing and cultural history rests on two post-championship bouts with Joe Louis. In 1936, Schmeling knocked out the hot young black fighter after twelve rounds. In their 1938 rematch, Louis demolished Schmeling in only two minutes. Both fights were hyped as a clash of civilizations, democracy vs. Nazism. Schmeling never joined the Nazi party, and harbored two Jewish teenagers, sons of a friend, on Kristallnacht. But he performed services for the regime, shilling for the Berlin Olympics and hobnobbing with Hitler. His is the cautionary tale of a decent man enmeshed in a totalitarian system. In 1981, Schmeling helped pay for Louis's funeral. Schmeling was counted out for the last time, age 99. R.I.P.

### IRAQ

## The Finger

**T**HE Iraqi people on January 30 stuck a finger in the eye of the country's vicious insurgents and its former jackbooted rulers. The finger was stained in the purple ink that signified participation in Iraq's first true election in 50 years.

How many American GIs and decent Iraqis—including government officials and election workers targeted for murder—have lost their lives to make this election day possible? The Iraqis took a step toward redeeming all those terrible losses. Which is just one reason the spectacle of Iraqis lining up to vote, and sometimes cheering and dancing with joy, was so moving.

President Bush's determination to see the election through amid calls for its delay, and his faith that Iraqis would make a strong civic statement in favor of a better country, were both shown to be courageous and far-sighted. America's willful defeatists—led by Sen. Ted Kennedy, who chose to declare our cause all but lost just days before this historic vote—look particularly puny in light of the millions who turned out to vote because they believe in the new Iraq.

Yes, there were problems. Sunni turnout appears to have been disappointing. But this does not necessarily signal broad Sunni disenchantment with the political process. Many Sunnis, living in the most chaotic and insurgency-ridden areas, were simply frightened away from the polls. There will be many chances to bring responsible Sunni leaders into the process. The mechanisms for the selection of a three-person presidential council, the appointment of a prime minister, and the writing and approval by referenda of a permanent constitution are all designed to emphasize consensus and coalition politics.

The unified Shiite slate formed by Ayatollah Sistani won big, prompting critics to warn that Iraq was going to go the way of Iran. Such fears are overblown. The Iraqi Shiite clerical establishment, as represented by Sistani, is suspicious of the Iranian theocratic model and appears determined to forge something different. The slate's leaders have said that the new transitional government will be secular (there are fewer than a dozen clerics on the slate's long list of candidates)—even if the constitution will inevitably incorporate more religious elements than Western liberals would want. They have also been extremely solicitous of the country's Sunni leadership, making every effort to extend an olive branch. It is important to note that the slate itself is no monolithic force. It encompasses 22 different political parties, and its unity will be strained by the inevitable pressures of forming a new government.

There will still be violence in Iraq and grim news, as we have already seen. But the election could be an important step toward sapping the energy of the insurgency. Insurgencies ultimately succeed or fail on their political appeal. On Election Day, Iraqis had a choice between Sistani's admonition to vote and Zarqawi's warning that democracy is evil. Sistani won. Most Iraqis have come down on the side of decency and modernity in the battle over the future of Islam on which so much depends. There are signs that Iraqis fed up with Zarqawi's mayhem are beginning to give up important information about his network. Thus, two of the most important ingredients to beating the insurgency—a political process that marginalizes it and good intelligence gathering that imperils it—are increasingly evident.

The Bush administration and the American public should maintain realistic expectations of what will result from the election in the near term: a government vastly better than Saddam's and better than any other Arab regime, but one that still falls short of Western norms. Iraqi society is tribal, deeply religious, and ethnically divided, and its government will reflect these characteristics. American troops can be proud of what they have already achieved. But they have more work ahead. They must keep grinding down the insurgency until Iraqi security services can do it on their own.

Realism and patience, in short, will be just as necessary going forward as they have been over the last difficult and often heart-breaking year. But January 30, 2005, is a day to be remembered, a day of celebration. This year, springtime came early to Iraq.

### SOCIAL SECURITY

## Early Returns

**T**HE campaign for Social Security reform has now begun in earnest. The president devoted much of his State of the Union address to making the case for the idea. He argued that the program's commitments have to be brought into line with what it can afford, and that young workers deserve a better deal. We would have preferred a little more emphasis on that last point, but Bush seems to have made some progress in winning public support for reform.

The press is not making his job any easier. The *Washington Post* ran a misleading story about the president's idea for personal investment accounts, and had to issue a half-correction;

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Paul Krugman then repeated the original misstatements. Under Bush's proposal, workers will have a choice about whether to open a personal account. If they open one, they will be choosing to rely more on those accounts, and less on government checks, for their retirements than the people who choose to stay in the regular system. In return for the opportunity to build a nest egg in the account, in other words, workers would have to accept smaller checks from the government. People who choose the accounts will come out ahead if their investments get a return that averages above 3 percent a year. From this fact, the *Post* somehow concluded that Bush was going to let workers get only the returns above 3 percent, while the government would take everything up to 3 percent. That would make the proposal a very bad deal for workers. But it's not true.

Not all the confusion about the president's plan is the result of incompetent reporting. On Fox News, Vice President Dick Cheney said that the plan involved trillions of dollars in "transition costs." Viewers who are not experts on Social Security—almost all viewers, in other words—were left with the incorrect

impression that Bush's reform raises costs. Cheney never explained that the "transition costs" are just a matter of paying for some of Social Security's obligations now rather than later. If the principal players in the administration are not going to shoot down bogus arguments against reform, who will?

Meanwhile, some reformers seem intent on shooting down potentially productive compromises. Jim McCrery, a Republican representative from Louisiana, suggested that while Democrats resist letting workers invest their payroll taxes, perhaps they would support letting workers invest their income taxes. That idea needs some refinement. And a reasonable case could be made that it is premature for McCrery to be talking about compromises at all at the very start of this debate. But his idea does not deserve to be dismissed out of hand, as the *Wall Street Journal's* editorialists did. It is possible to see it forming the basis for a compromise that advances conservative goals (such as expanding the new investor class). Getting a good plan through Congress is going to be difficult enough for Bush without his allies' making it harder.

## notes & asides

■ Memo to: WFB  
From: Ed Capano  
Re: 50th anniversary year

Dear Bill: I thought you might like to inform our readers about our 50th anniversary year festivities.

We'll celebrate NR's 50th anniversary with a gala party at the Building Museum in Washington, D.C. on October 6. That will be followed by a commemoration of your 80th birthday with a bash at the Pierre Hotel in New York City on November 17. The plans for both events are still in the works but I think our readers would like to mark those dates on their calendars.

Overshadowed by its parent and the events planned, National Review Online observes its 10th anniversary in July. We have yet to settle on an appropriate way of observing this milestone, but you can bet we'll come up with something appropriate.

One of the highlights of the year has to be the 50th anniversary year cruise to the British Isles in July aboard the *Crystal Symphony*. It will be round trip from London (Dover) departing on July 10 and returning on July 21. We've also added a pre-cruise package in London for anyone interested. So far, this cruise has been wildly popular and

we've already sold 125 cabins, more than 60 percent of the total allotted to us. If there is anyone interested, they'd better let us know ASAP.

We will have more information available for all the events (the cruise excepted) and will let everyone know as soon as details are finalized.

It should be a heck of a year.

Best,  
Ed

■ Memo to: WFB  
From: Dorothy

You asked about the book, and I am sending you a second copy. How do you want to describe it for the benefit of the West Coast gang?

Dorothy: Herewith . . .

*America's First Frogman: The Draper Kauffman Story.* By Elizabeth Kauffman Bush. Annapolis, Naval Institute Press. 221 pp.

This, as the title does not conceal, is the story of America's first frogman. Draper Kauffman was to the Navy born—the son of a naval officer—and before he

completed his career had served as superintendent of the U.S. Naval Academy, then back to the sea as commander of U.S. Naval Forces in the Philippines, and on to service as the critical and ingenious innovator in modern underwater demolition. His wartime career ended excitingly in Tokyo Bay. The Japanese had agreed to surrender, and two weeks later the whole world awaited the arrival in Tokyo Bay of General Douglas MacArthur on the USS *Missouri*. But there was well-grounded suspicion that loyalist Japanese would make a final defiant move. Commander Draper Kauffman

led a team of underwater demolition experts deep into Tokyo's harbor. They discovered a cache of suicide boats and torpedoes, which they duly disassembled and destroyed—after which Draper Kauffman ambled into the city for a relaxing, illegal, look at Tokyo, the first American to view from the ground the cradle of Pearl Harbor and of a mighty war. The story is devotedly recounted by the hero's sister, who contrived to get a personal introduction to this book by President George H. W. Bush—her brother-in-law. She could probably have succeeded in getting a second preface from her nephew, the incumbent President Bush, but this is a story not about the Bushes, but about the illustrious Kauffmans.

—WFB





■ AT WAR ■

## A Crack in the Wall

Iraq's election deals a blow to absolutism; there will be others

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

**T**HE delight and the dignity of Iraqis with stained fingers proving they had just participated in choosing their leaders has been a memorable spectacle of hope. Like the peoples of the old Soviet empire, the Arabs are beginning to democratize. Decent governance in Baghdad is the immediate issue, but in due course democracy—and democracy alone—may place the Arab and Muslim world and the West on an equal footing. Huge historic forces are in play.

Power in the Arab and Muslim world has always been in the hands of those who could seize and hold it, founding dynasties if they could. Absolute rule by the strongest was a mechanism endlessly perpetuating violence and therefore stagnation. Iraq is a particularly tragic example. Saddam Hussein and his two sons were only the latest in the long and bloody line of rulers bent on exploiting that unfortunate country and its riches. What determined everything, of course, was that they controlled the security and secret-police apparatus,

and this was almost entirely recruited from Sunni Arabs like themselves, a minority but one traditionally powerful enough to ensure the succession of one-man rulers. Shia Arabs and Kurds and other minorities always outnumbered the dominant Sunnis by a factor of four or five to one, but they had no access to power, unless as collaborators and quislings. Saddam's regime piled their corpses by the hundreds of thousands into mass graves.

The complexity of the election reflects the immensity of the task of replacing absolutism by due process: There were over 7,000 candidates on more than 100 lists. Having the numbers, the Shia are certain to be the winners in the election, therefore preponderant in the forthcoming assembly and in the constitutional debate to follow. Last year, to be sure, Moqtada al-Sadr, a junior Shia cleric, tried to take a leaf out of the Sunni book by recruiting a militia and forcing his way into power at gunpoint. Bringing him to heel peacefully, Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani proved that the Shia establishment is both responsible and capable. Sunni terrorists including the Zarqawi group have committed unspeakable atrocities in order to provoke the Shia

into reprisals, and perhaps civil war. Sistani and other ayatollahs have restrained what would otherwise have been willing hot-heads from falling into that trap.

In Iraq now, the whole spectrum of prominent personalities—politicians, ayatollahs, and clerics, tribal sheikhs, ethnic leaders, and representatives of minorities—are visiting each other in processions of Mercedes-Benzes along dusty and often shattered roads, and then sitting in back-rooms to drink coffee and cut deals among themselves. The questions to be resolved are how much power the Shia are going to want for themselves, and how much they will concede; and beyond that how the state taking shape is to reconcile Islamic and secular values.

Here is an Arab version of the process that collapsed absolutism in the Soviet Union. Mikhail Gorbachev's introduction of elections was also complicated, and seemingly controlled, but it was enough to break the militarized monopoly of power. In his refusal to sanction the use of violence for his own ends, Ayatollah Sistani is in the mold of Gorbachev, and he wants to incorporate the Sunnis much as Gorbachev also hoped to make allies of his critics and other dissidents. His approved electoral list included 30 Sunnis, because they and many others like them well understand that a boycott of this process will effectively shut them out of power. Iraq's backroom debates are the local equivalent of the "round tables" in former Soviet republics and satellites where political and ideological opponents negotiated the concessions necessary for power-sharing.

Al-Qaeda's Dr. Ayman Zawahiri and Zarqawi and the Sunni Association of Muslim Scholars object to these developments, and it is easy to see why: For them, and for Saddam's Baathists too, this version of a round table spells the imminent replacement of Arab and Muslim absolutism with a social model taken from the West. Such people resent the accommodations already made to the West over the last 200 years, and fear that any more will finally undermine their identity.

Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt in 1798 first exposed the imbalance between the creative energies of the West and the stagnation bred by absolutism in the Middle East. Occupying Egypt in 1882—and Palestine and Iraq subsequently—the British enforced re-

Mr. Pryce-Jones is an NR senior editor. Among his books is *The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs*.

forms whose thrust was the institutionalization of these countries in order to close the gap between Us and Them. This was done so clumsily that Arabs instead formed a sense of their continuing subordination, and responded with nationalism. Nationalist leaders from Nasser to Saddam Hussein turned out to be nothing more than absolute rulers in another guise, extending the vicious circle of violence and stagnation. The present American-led intervention is therefore the third—and by far the most urgent—challenge from the West to the Arabs to define for themselves their place in the modern world.

Iraq's version of a round table is already having positive repercussions. In Beirut, Rami G. Khouri, one of the most prominent and articulate Arab commentators, writes that "the sight of Iraqis enthusiastically choosing their leaders from among a wide range of options is causing many Arabs to reassess the political implications of developments inside Iraq." This May, elections are due in Lebanon. Except for the usual collaborators and quislings, the Lebanese actively want an end to the Syrian occupation of their country, and may use the elections as a means of showing that they too can choose leaders able to hand their state to them.

No absolute ruler in the region is more threatened by the Iraqi example than Bashar al-Assad, president of Syria, a country mired in violence and stagnation. He is a fine example of a contemporary dynast, with no legitimacy except being the son of Hafez, the previous strongman and president. Recently he has been suppressing his Kurds and arresting anyone pleading for democracy. However, Syrians have had the extraordinary experience of observing Iraqi expatriates among them enjoying a free vote when they themselves have no such opportunity.

In Libya and Egypt, sons of Col. Moammar Qaddafi and Hosni Mubarak appear ambitious to succeed their fathers as dynastic president. In both countries, on the other hand, it looks unlikely that democratic reform can continue to be thwarted by the simple expedient of imprisoning anyone with ideas. In his late seventies, Mubarak has ruled by emergency decree for over 20 years, and later this year in an unopposed election will "seek" a fifth six-year term. After serving a prison sentence for promoting democra-

cy, the admirable Saad Ibrahim aims to stand against him. Ayman Nur is another democrat and one of the few parliamentarians who do not belong to Mubarak's monopolistic party. Stripped of immunity by Mubarak's party, he was arrested minutes later, and is being held without trial. A crowd about 1,000 strong demonstrated, chanting, "Mubarak is a disgrace and a traitor!" They too follow events in Iraq.

Bahrain is to hold legislative elections this year. As for Saudi Arabia, it takes pride in maintaining its Muslim identity and absolute rule, but even there the retrograde royal family has agreed to hold municipal elections, limited, to be sure, because women will have no vote and a proportion of candidates are to be appointed rather than elected. Still, nothing like it has ever taken place. Nor has anything ever taken place in Morocco like the commission now trying to establish the extent of injustice and torture in that country's concentration camps under the previous ruler.

In his State of the Union address, President Bush paid tribute to elections in Iraq, the Palestinian Authority, and Afghanistan, pursed his lips over Egypt and Saudi Arabia, and went on to say that "hopeful reform is already taking hold in an arc from Morocco to Jordan to Bahrain." The Iranians, he added meaningfully, should stand up for their own liberty. Perhaps nothing immediate will come of this pressure to reform. Perhaps absolutism is too strong for the people to rid themselves of it, and cunning rulers will do just enough to keep the United States off their backs. At the last moment, the Shia may decide that it is payback time and they aren't about to share power with the Sunnis. But even so, this Iraqi election has put down a permanent marker.

At this defining moment, Sen. John Kerry sees fit to deny reality with a warning not to "over-hype" the election. Sen. Edward Kennedy speaks of Iraq as a "catastrophic failure." Everywhere politicians, academics, commentators, reporters in the hundreds, cannot go beyond the parrot-cry of "exit strategy," too caught up in partisan politics to consider the historic context of the Iraqi election. The phenomenon reveals ignorance, and condescension too, as if Arabs are to be condemned forever to violence and stagnation, and the rights and privileges of democracy are quite beyond their benighted reach. **NR**

## ■ AT WAR II

# Next Acts

President Bush needs to rumble on

PAUL JOHNSON

IT was the singular merit of George W. Bush's first term that, after an uncertain start, he used the stimulus of 9/11 to follow the logic of America's unique position as the world's sole superpower. This imposes corresponding opportunities and duties. By taking up the leadership of the War on Terror, and by insisting that America would act unilaterally if necessary, Bush showed he was eager to take full advantage of America's vastly increased relative power. The results are now coming in. In both Afghanistan and Iraq, fair and free elections have been held for the first time. What a half a century of exhortation had failed to do, the judicious use of military force achieved in two years—to bring democracy to the Muslim Middle East.

In the process, America obliged the leaders of international terrorism to concentrate all their efforts on preventing democracy from emerging in Iraq. By inflicting defeat on them there—where they were strongest—U.S. armed forces have dealt a blow to terrorist morale from which it may never recover. The families of American and Allied soldiers killed in Iraq should take comfort from this. The operation has succeeded. Terrorism is now on the retreat, and countless innocent lives may be saved in consequence.

But now we must move on. One of the objects of President Bush's second term must be to ensure that neither the terrorists nor their actual or potential allies among the rogue states get possession of nuclear weapons. Attention has so far

Mr. Johnson's latest book is *Art: A New History*.

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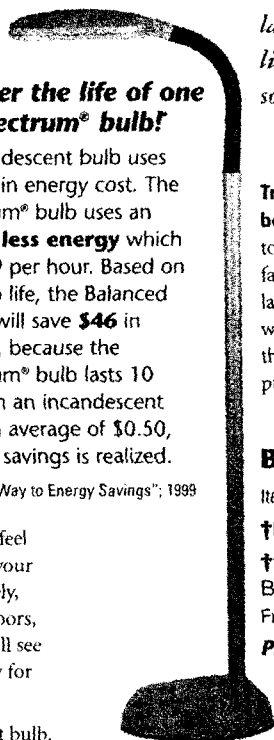
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concentrated on Iran, which finances and arms various terrorist groups, and will certainly use nuclear weapons against Israel if it contrives to create a workable delivery system. But a more important, urgent, and difficult case is North Korea.

One of the most welcome by-products of American and British intervention in Iraq was to persuade the Qaddafi regime in Libya to give up its nuclear-weapons program. And a still more welcome by-product of this diplomatic victory was that American experts were able to examine elements in the abandoned program and discover their provenance. As a result it has now been established, not through dubious intelligence sources but by actual laboratory tests in the U.S. Department of Energy, that Libya bought from North Korea supplies of uranium hexafluoride, which, if fed into nuclear centrifuges, can be enriched into weapons-grade material. The U.S. labs established beyond doubt that the source was Yongbyon, where North Korea has its main nuclear production center.

This discovery is startling for two reasons. First, it shows that North Korea's production of nuclear supplies is already on such a scale that it has ample material for its own weapons program and can afford to export it. Second, it is a concrete demonstration that North Korea is already in active business to assist rogue states in getting their own nuclear weapons. And if rogue states, why not also well-financed terrorist groups, such as al-Qaeda? The information was considered sufficiently startling for the U.S. government to send a diplomatic group, equipped with the evidence, on a tour of Asian governments, notably China, Japan, and South Korea.

The technical military difficulties of stripping North Korea of its nuclear weapons and production facilities by force are so enormous that even the

Bush administration has explored every conceivable alternative. Since North Korea claims that its nuclear program is dictated by its critical energy shortages, there is a plan for South Korea, with U.S. assistance, to supply the North's energy shortfall, in return for the abandonment of the nuclear program and U.S. rights of inspection of the sites. This is a very dubious and risky business, given North Korea's long record of duplicity and promise-breaking and the ease with which secret work and dumps can be concealed in a totalitarian country. The plan, moreover, would have to be financed by the U.S. taxpayer, and there is something unacceptably odious in paying for supplies that will keep in power one of the most vicious regimes even by Communist standards.

**If the United States has already shown it can disarm North Korea by force, the chances that Iran, like Libya, will be deterred and abandon its nuclear program will be significantly increased.**

The least messy and the most efficient way to stop North Korea's exporting of nuclear-weapons material would be for America to carry out (after due warning and an ultimatum) an air strike on Yongbyon and the half-dozen other centers where the North's nuclear program is conducted. The difficulty here is that all the key sites are in hardened underground bunkers, and as the campaign in Afghanistan demonstrated, the huge specialized bombs America has manufactured to destroy such bunkers or natural underground caves are not always powerful enough.

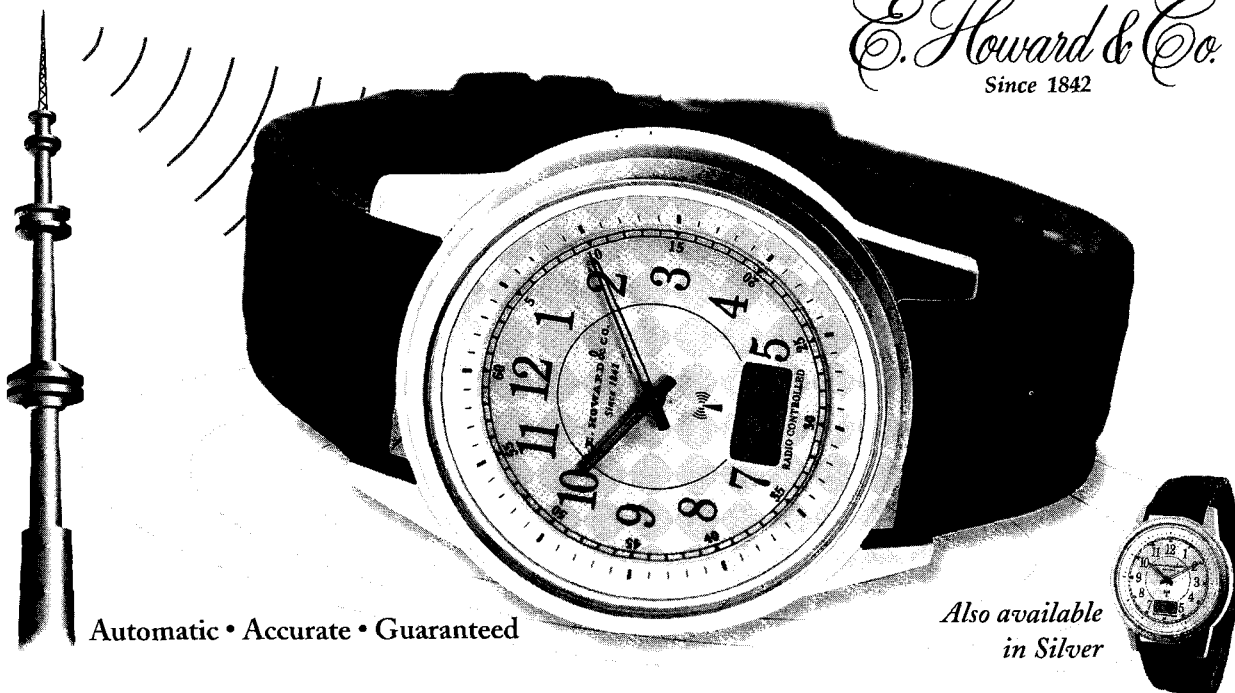
Because of this experience, America began a new study program, at the Los Alamos, Livermore, and Sandia military laboratories, to fit existing nuclear warheads into hardened casings that would dig into such heavily protected sites before exploding. Last year Congress effectively ended the study by cutting off funds, on the grounds that existing smart, precision-guided conventional weapons could perform the task without risking above-ground radioactive debris if the casing on the "bunker buster" broke near the surface. One of the first deci-

sions of the new Bush administration has been to push through the study and, if it shows such bombs are feasible, to make them. Even the fact that such a weapon is on the way can have a distinct deterrent value when a rogue state, like Iran, is hesitating about continuing nuclear production in hardened sites.

The argument applies not just to North Korea but to Iran, which refuses to abandon its nuclear program and, indeed, is pressing it forward with redoubled energy. There is no evidence that Iran has exported nuclear material so far, but Egypt and Syria, both of which have embryonic nuclear programs, are obvious markets. Nor can we rule out the possibility that Iran's regime would, in certain circumstances, supply terrorist groups with weapons-grade material or even nuclear weapons themselves.

An Iran nuclear-delivery capability would pose a deadly threat to the Gulf States, against which Iran has (like Iraq) territorial claims. But the chief potential victim would be Israel, a small, highly concentrated state peculiarly vulnerable even to a small-scale nuclear strike. In the past Israel has shown that it has the means and the will to destroy nuclear sites in the Arab world that it regards as a threat to its existence. But Iran, a vast country outside the range of most Israeli weapons, is a much bigger problem. If the American government finally decides that Iran's nuclear-weapons program is sufficiently advanced to constitute an urgent direct threat to the area, and an indirect one by exporting supplies to terrorists, then the question will have to be decided: Can America rely upon Israel to do the job of taking out Iran's nuclear capability, if it supplies the Israeli air force with any aircraft and bombs it may lack? Or should America carry out the strike itself? Obviously, if the United States has already shown it can disarm North Korea by force, the chances that Iran, like Libya, will be deterred and abandon its program will be significantly increased. Hence it makes sense for America to tackle North Korea first, and that is what I expect President Bush to do.

The lamentable results of Bill Clinton's idle and self-indulgent neglect



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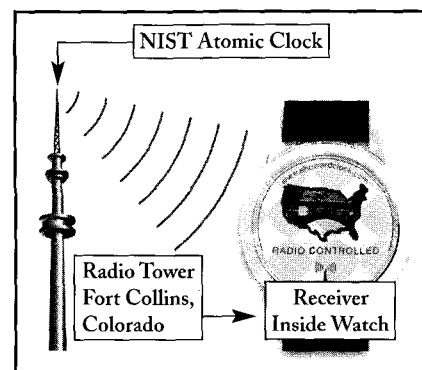
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of conventional terrorism can be counted not only in the lost American lives of the 9/11 disaster, but in the years of preparation the terrorists were accorded in setting up their worldwide networks. Clearly President Bush is not going to make the same mistakes in confronting possible nuclear terrorism, where the lives lost as a result of delays, neglect, or misjudgment would be numbered not in thousands but in millions. But what the first and now clearly completed phase of his anti-terrorism war showed is that the efficiency of the U.S. military in achieving its targets is by no means matched by the performance of U.S. political and diplomatic instruments in explaining why the U.S. needs to act. In this whole area of putting across America's case to the world—and, properly presented, it is an overwhelming case—there have been unforgivable failures. This is all the more surprising in that America is the world leader in so many of the skills required in explaining and selling policy. What has been lacking is the will, and the ability to set priorities.

It seems to me that President Bush should ask himself and his closest colleagues the deadly question: How have we allowed our enemies to demonize me and our country? How is it that educated people all over the world have come to believe that our necessary and disinterested war against terror and mass murder, and in favor of democracy and freedom, is in fact aggressive and wicked? Why did we lose this vital battle while winning all the others? Granted the need to embark on the second phase of the War on Terror—involving perhaps preemptive strikes against nuclear terrorism—it is essential that America's case be forcefully, intelligently, and effectively put this time. This may involve important institutional changes. It will certainly involve bringing forward clever men and women who understand the arts of geopolitical presentation—and giving them the means to practice these arts. But, not least, it needs the conviction in the White House and the whole administration that the battle to establish the moral case for American policy, all over the world, has hitherto been needlessly and heedlessly lost, and that it can and must be won.

NR

## ■ PUBLIC POLICY

# Doomed Like ClintonCare?

Opponents of Social Security reform only wish

RAMESH PONNURU

**D**EMOCRATS believe that President Bush is making a political mistake as big as the one President Clinton made in his first two years in office. Clinton tried to get comprehensive health-care reform, and ended up losing control of Congress instead. Democrats think that Bush's effort to reform Social Security gives them an opportunity to take Congress back.

The parallels are easy to see. Social Security reform is Bush's top legislative priority, just as health-care reform was Clinton's. Republicans see Social Security reform as a way to expand the base of their party, by making all workers into capitalists. Democrats saw national health care as a way to expand their party, by making the middle class grateful for government help. Bush's party has majorities in both houses of Congress, as Clinton's had then. But Republicans were determined to deny Clinton victory, just as Democrats are dead-set against Bush. Republicans, though in the minority, were able to exert power the same way Democrats intend to do today: by filibustering the president's bill in the Senate.

Democrats have drawn several lessons from these parallels. The first is that there are political dividends in opposing big, complex presidential initiatives. Democrats once reviled Newt Gingrich, but now he is their role model. The second is that the way to defeat a president's reforms is to deny the existence of the problems those reforms are designed to address. ClintonCare was supposed to solve a "health-care crisis," and its undoing began when Republicans started say-

ing that there was no such crisis: Most Americans liked their own health care just fine. President Bush has said that Social Security's pending insolvency constitutes a "crisis" (although he has backed off that word). Democrats are minimizing the problem and accusing Bush of exaggerating.

Democrats think that they may be in an even stronger position to defeat Bush than the Republicans were eleven years ago. Clinton had a bigger majority, especially in the House, than Bush has now.

Supporters of Social Security reform cannot dismiss the example of ClintonCare out of hand. President Bush may very well fail to get Social Security through Congress. The Senate Democrats may stay united in opposition, for example, while Senate Republicans split over whether to force a bill through on a simple-majority vote. If Bush fails, then it will become the conventional wisdom that his error was to repeat Clinton's mistakes.

But that conclusion isn't inevitable. Stuart Butler, vice president for domestic and economic policy at the Heritage Foundation, was active in the ClintonCare debate and is now involved in the Social Security debate. "I think the opponents of reform wish that [Social Security] were like [ClintonCare], but I don't think it is," he says. "It's very important not to be talked into believing that it is."

The major difference to which Republicans point is that Clinton's plan went against the ideological grain of modern America, while Bush's goes with it. Michael Barone took this view in his *U.S. News & World Report* column: The Clintons were trying to increase government control over the economy after decades in which public confidence in government had fallen. Bush, on the other hand, is trying to build on the expansion of consumer choice and of the new investor class. (Barone also points out that Bush won't face one problem Clinton did. Regional variations in health care created parochial interests against his reform. Sen. Pat Moynihan, for example, worried about the impact of ClintonCare on New York's teaching hospitals.)

When foes of Clinton's health plan said that there was no health-care crisis, their point was that voters had no reason to

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give up what they valued about their own health care. There was no reason, for example, for them to give up any control of their own medical care to the government. Bush's plan involves no such overriding of private choices. Bush's opponents will, of course, say that his plan would take away from voters things they value about Social Security. But it is hard to make the case that his plan will have obvious and immediate negative consequences. Retirees will keep getting checks exactly as big as they have been getting. Near-retirees will get their checks, too. Benefit cuts won't kick in until many years in the future. The only immediate change will be that young people will see some money in their personal accounts.

Ken Mehlman, the head of the Republican National Committee, rejects the comparison of ClintonCare and Social Security reform. "I think that the analogy is completely false at a number of levels. The most important way it is false is that Bill Clinton was trying to take millions of Americans who had choice in their health care and restrict that choice to a government bureaucracy. George W. Bush is saying to younger workers who want more choice in their retirement, 'I'm going to give you what you want.'"

It is also worth remembering that the failure of ClintonCare was not foreordained. It would probably have passed if the Clintons had just been willing to compromise.

Clinton made a big speech unveiling his plan in September 1993. Its popularity started to drop almost immediately. David Broder and Haynes Johnson, in their book lamenting the failure of ClintonCare, note that just after Clinton's speech, "public approval of the Clinton plan topped disapproval by 32 points in a *Washington Post*-ABC poll. Three weeks later the margin was only 12 points." The Health Insurance Association of America ran a devastating ad campaign featuring a couple, dubbed "Harry and Louise," discussing the flaws of the plan. By March, opponents outnumbered supporters—and supporters never regained the lead. And while Democrats may now prefer to think

that ClintonCare was defeated because of Republicans' unified opposition, which reinforces their view that they can defeat Bush by hanging tough, the truth is that other Democrats were running away from Clinton's proposal at the same time Republicans were. Democrats like Senators Moynihan, Bob Kerrey, and David Boren either raised questions about or declared opposition to the plan.

The sensible thing to do would have been to compromise. Yet the Clinton White House, early in the game, signaled its lack of interest in meeting critics, or even friends, halfway. An aide was quoted saying that the administration would "roll right over" Moynihan "if we have to." Clinton threatened to veto any

expressed worry that Bush has not ruled out raising taxes on high earners to win Democratic votes.

Bush has longer coattails than Clinton did. Bush has reasonably strong (and growing) support among Republicans in the House of Representatives, whereas Clinton had trouble with Democrats in both legislative chambers. Clinton's plan split business groups, some of which wanted to offload their health costs on the government and some of which feared regulation. Bush's plan offends no significant business constituency.

Clinton's opponents had another advantage that Bush's lack: the element of surprise. When Clinton gave his speech, it did not seem likely that the

Republicans were going to fight it. Bob Dole seemed inclined to go along, and even conservative Republicans were seeking to pull Clinton's bill rightward rather than to defeat it outright. It had been at least a generation since Republicans had tried resisting expansions of the welfare state on ideological grounds. That political climate gave Clinton a misleading picture of his plan's political strength, and helped the White House form its fatal hostility toward compromise.

This White House knows what it's up against. They know that most Democrats will be

against them, and they know most of the arguments that are going to be made. Democratic resistance to Bush's proposals is not new. When Republicans fought Clinton's proposal, it was hard to portray them as obstructionists rather than as people who found that one particular bill was just too bad for them to support. The Democrats' track record makes the obstructionist label an easy stick.

Bush's proposal may end up resembling ClintonCare in a way that most of the people making the comparison will dislike. When Clinton proposed his plan, the conventional wisdom was that it would be enacted. When Bush proposed his, the conventional wisdom was that it would fail. The conventional wisdom was wrong on ClintonCare. It could be wrong about Social Security reform, too.

NR



*A tale of two visions*

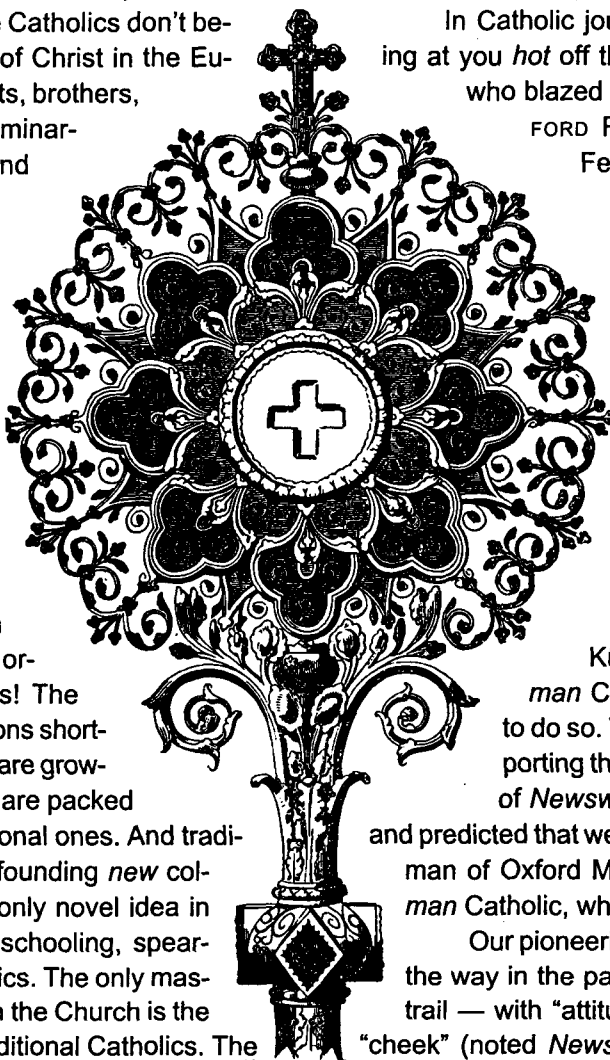
health-care bill that didn't meet his goal of "universal coverage." These were bold moves for a man who had been elected with 43 percent of the vote and no coattails. When liberal Republicans and moderate Democrats came out with a bipartisan proposal in the summer, AARP and the unions rejected it and the White House refused to make a deal—even though it held a weak hand by any objective standard.

"The Clinton plan was a beautiful new machine that could fly only if you voted for the whole thing," recalls Butler, and the White House's approach was "to ram it down your throat." Bush, on the other hand, has made no explicit veto threats on Social Security reform. In his State of the Union address, he went out of his way to suggest that he was open to Democratic ideas. Some conservatives, indeed, have

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## ■ POLITICS

# Brewing Scandals

Milwaukee is the home of some Democratic dirty trickery

BYRON YORK

**T**HIS is not your average tire-slashing case," says Rick Graber, the chairman of the Republican party of Wisconsin. "This is an intentional effort to obstruct the Election Day process in the city of Milwaukee."

The "this" to which Graber refers is a criminal case—it's the talk of political circles in Wisconsin and is being closely watched by Republicans in Washington—in which five workers for the Democratic Victory 2004 coordinated campaign are accused of going to GOP headquarters in Milwaukee in the pre-dawn hours of Election Day and slashing the tires on more than two dozen vans that were to be used by Republicans for get-out-the-vote efforts.

The five defendants include Sowande Omokunde, the son of Democratic representative Gwen Moore, who represents Wisconsin's Fourth District in Congress; Michael Pratt, the son of a former Democratic mayor of Milwaukee; and three other Democratic workers, Lewis Caldwell, Lavelle Mohammad, and Justin Howell.

According to the criminal complaint, the whole thing started last November 1 at the Democratic party's Milwaukee offices. A number of the defendants seemed quite excited about something they called "Operation Elephant Takeover." The plan was to go to GOP headquarters, on West Capitol Drive, in the middle of the night and cover the entire building with John Kerry signs and stickers.

Everything seemed to be coming together nicely. But then someone noticed that the GOP employed a security guard to patrol the building. Suddenly the whole idea seemed a little too risky; "Operation

Elephant Takeover" was canceled.

But not, as it turned out, the plan to go to Republican headquarters. At some point, members of the group decided to go ahead with their nighttime raid. The only difference was, they wouldn't be carrying signs and stickers—they would be carrying knives. At about 3:00 A.M. on November 2, the suspects put on what one witness called "Mission Impossible" outfits—black outfits and knit caps—and headed toward West Capitol Drive.

A short time later, Cedric Peoples, the security guard who patrolled Republican headquarters, noticed something unusual. Driving around the building in his car, Peoples saw two vans drive up a nearby street and then stop, with a man—thought to be Lavelle Mohammad—getting out of one and climbing into the other. Then one of the vans drove around the block, came back, and Mohammad got out again. He seemed to be behaving erratically—especially when he walked down the street to a furniture store, went behind the building, and urinated in plain view of Peoples.

Later, a white car came to pick up Mohammad. Peoples took down the car's license-plate number and followed as the car drove to a parking lot, where the original van that had dropped off Mohammad was waiting. Mohammad got out of the car and into the van.

Peoples then drove back to the alley where some of the Republican vans were parked. He saw another man—apparently Caldwell—standing by one of them. Caldwell ran away when he realized he had been spotted. After that, Peoples got out of his car, and as he walked he could hear a distinct sound—ssssssssssss. It was air leaking out of the GOP vans' tires.

There had been about 100 vans parked around the building. The Democratic team had hit 25 of them, sometimes slashing just one tire on each, sometimes slashing more. The Democrats headed back to party headquarters. According to the criminal complaint, they were triumphant.

"They won't go anywhere now, man, we got 'em, we got 'em," Pratt said.

"Man, I walked right past the security guard," said Caldwell. "He didn't even know anything was going on."

"That's 'cause, you know, I was acting all crazy, you know, I was acting crazy," said Mohammad. "I even let him watch

me piss." (Mohammad bragged that he had been the "deception guy," the one whose job had been to distract the guard while the others did their work.)

As they celebrated, the suspects began to imitate the sound of air hissing out of tires.

Meanwhile, Cedric Peoples was getting in touch with the police. It turned out the white car was a rental car, rented by a longtime Democratic activist working for the Democratic National Committee. That made the police case pretty easy; investigators began questioning Democrats before the day was out.

About 6 A.M., Republican officials started arriving at headquarters. "When I pulled up, I saw a lot full of vans," recalls Rick Wiley, the state party's executive director. "What was disturbing was that those vans were supposed to be gone at that point." As he walked through the alley toward the building entrance, Wiley noticed that some of the vans had flat tires. Then he saw more. And still more.

"My gut told me that it was the Democrats who had done it," Wiley says. "At the time, I wasn't thinking it was the Kerry campaign. I thought it would have been something like one of the 527s that were active in Wisconsin. I didn't think that someone who was on the Kerry campaign or the Democratic party of Wisconsin payroll would be stupid enough to do this."

But they were, at least according to the allegations in the criminal complaint.

The attack was a major setback to Republican turnout plans. Of the 100 vans the GOP had rented, the 25 that were vandalized were out for the entire day, meaning the party lost about 25 percent of its get-out-the-vote capacity. In addition, the vandals hit in such a way—slashing the tires of vans in the outer rows of parked vehicles—that undamaged vans were hemmed in by the damaged ones. It took hours to maneuver them all out of the parking lot.

Within days, the first suspects were arrested. But the men were simply booked and released. And there, the process seemed to stop. November went by, and no charges were filed against any of the suspects. December went by, and still no charges. Then the first three weeks of January went by, and still no charges. Republicans accused Michael McCann,

the Democratic district attorney of Milwaukee County, of dragging his feet. McCann blamed the FBI, which he said had taken a long time to finish its investigation. Whoever was at fault, finally, on January 24, the five suspects were charged with felony counts of criminal damage to property. Court proceedings are just beginning.

It seems indisputable that the tire-slashing incident cost Republicans votes in Wisconsin. In Milwaukee County, Kerry crushed President Bush, winning 297,653 votes to the president's 180,287. But in Wisconsin as a whole, Kerry won by just 11,384 votes—a margin of victory far, far smaller than, say, Bush's often-challenged 118,599-vote victory in Ohio.

GOP leaders do not claim that the number of votes affected by the slashing would have overcome Kerry's victory statewide. But they are particularly concerned because the tire-slashing incident is, they say, just part of a larger pattern of election irregularities across the state.

For example, in late January, the *Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel* reported that about 1,200 Milwaukee voters cast ballots

using invalid addresses. Republicans weren't surprised. "We know that people were voting from addresses that don't exist, including addresses we had warned the city about before the elections," says Rick Graber. "Vacant lots, billboards—we had warned the city." But little, if anything, was done.

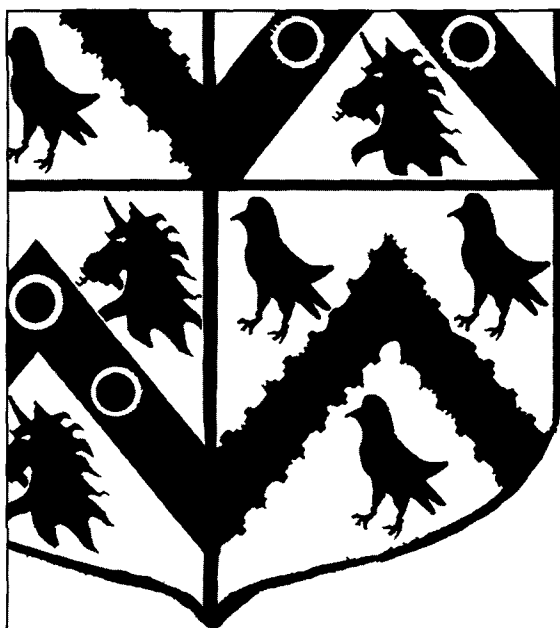
The *Journal-Sentinel* also discovered that election precincts in Milwaukee reported about 7,000 more votes than voters who were given credit for casting a ballot. The discrepancies, the paper reported, "leave room for critics to allege that ballot boxes were stuffed in the city, which went heavily to Democrat John Kerry over President Bush in a state with one of the closest margins in the country." (After the *Journal-Sentinel* reports, both local and federal law-enforcement officials began an investigation.)

Now GOP officials are looking into allegations of similar problems in other cities around the state. "We have numerous reports of questionable tactics," says Graber. "I think there's no question that it's possible that the presidential election could have been affected by the irregulari-

ties that not only went on in the city of Milwaukee but also in Kenosha and Racine and Madison."

Democrats have tried to distance themselves from the whole situation. In a statement given to *NATIONAL REVIEW*, the state party said that it "totally and without reservation condemns any illegal behavior, by any party, that undermines the democratic process." The attacks on the vans, the statement continued, "were undertaken without the knowledge or direction of the Democratic Party of Wisconsin or Kerry Campaign."

But the evidence in the tire-slashing case, plus the phantom addresses and questionable vote totals in Milwaukee and elsewhere, have convinced Republicans that the situation in Wisconsin needs to be in the national spotlight. GOP sources say that both Republican National Committee chairman Ken Mehlman and White House political adviser Karl Rove are keeping a close eye on the investigations, and there is talk that a civil suit might be filed as well. Republicans, the aggrieved party, are determined to find out what happened, and who is responsible. **NR**



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# Giant Leaps . . .

. . . off a cliff: Why U.S. space policy is all wrong

ALEXANDER ROSE

**T**HOSE unfeeling suits at UPN just canceled *Star Trek: Enterprise*, a spin-off “prequel” to the original series that neither lived long nor, apparently, prospered. The show depicted mankind’s hesitant baby steps into galactic affairs and its first contacts with sundry Klingons and Romulans. Despite *Enterprise*’s dreadful theme song—a cheesy Michael Boltonesque number—its opening-title sequence was splendid, with images of the space shuttle and the international space station blending, as if it were a natural historical progression, into our first warp-driven starcraft and the consequent exploration of the final frontier.

Splendid, but wholly unrealistic. The way our space policy has developed, we’re going . . . nowhere. In truth, the shuttle and the station have nothing to do with warp-cores and Prime Directives: They’re technological dead-ends whose uselessness was only highlighted by the recent landing of the unmanned probe on Titan. Indeed, the decision to chop *Enterprise* coincided with the second anniversary of the *Columbia* shuttle explosion, and the first anniversary of President Bush’s Vision for Space Exploration (VSE), which was intended to kick-start a new Space Age.

The VSE—with its uplifting talk of manned missions to the moon between 2015 and 2020, and thence to Mars at an unspecified date presumably subject to future administrations’ caprices—is a scheme almost destined

to stall. That is, unless NASA puts its thinking cap on, which it hasn’t done since the glory days.

Ignore the sunny prognostications you hear about Mankind’s Destiny In Space: the driveling descant that, as the president put it, exploring the unknown “is a desire written in the human heart”; the meaningless guff proclaiming space’s ability “to inspire us and motivate our children”; the vainglorious “national greatness” project to beat the Chinese; the Norman Rockwellized “artists’ conceptions” of space-suited kids playing tag on the moon. This is all propaganda designed to separate you from your tax dollars. Next, pay no attention to official timelines (“human exploration missions no later than 2014”), let alone any budget estimate emanating from NASA: These are masterworks of science fiction. And, last, put out of your mind the sexed-up utopian silliness circulated by Mars enthusiasts about “terraforming” and “colonizing” the Red Planet with futuristic kibbutzes.

The main problem with the VSE is not its objective, but its abdication to NASA of the responsibility for making all this happen, by whatever means they think appropriate. In so doing, President Bush is giving carte blanche to the same guys who’ve been running the operation for half a century—and *they’re* still paying homage to the ideas conjured up by Wernher von Braun, the German designer of the devastating V-2 rocket.

NASA remains wedded to von

Braun’s postwar concepts of big-ticket, government-run space exploration. It’s owing to this obsession with the past that we have a creaky space station costing billions in “maintenance” each year, yet of no discernible use to anyone; an aging fleet of grounded space shuttles; and a predilection toward blasting expensive payloads into space using throwaway, titanically wasteful rockets. In this weird world, while the president’s new budget has proposed \$4.5 billion for the shuttle, the ailing Hubble telescope can’t be fixed because the shuttles are too dangerous to be used on a repair mission.

You can be sure of one thing: If the VSE is pursued in its current form, none of this will be changing. We’ll just have shinier, newer white elephants than we did before.

Put bluntly, the space industry is not about exploring space; it’s about rather more touchingly terrestrial concerns, such as back-scratching, institutional rigidity, and astronomical piles of money. NASA is not the lean, mean forerunner of Starfleet Academy: It’s a high-wattage government-jobs project running a feeding-trough for the aerospace industry, the very same complex that has a vested interest in building our Atlas rockets (Lockheed Martin), Delta rockets (Boeing), and shuttles (a Lockheed-Martin/Boeing consortium).

So it tends to stick with what it knows. And what it knows is the way it managed to get a man on the moon in 1969. But that particular way was a historical accident, and what worked then is not practicable now. The sole reason why, for the Mercury, Gemini, and Apollo missions, NASA hurriedly converted an intercontinental ballistic missile into an expendable, one-time-only rocket booster and perched a small, manned capsule atop it was that the Sovs had startled them with the 1957 Sputnik, which was launched aboard one of *their* new ICBMs. NASA had theretofore assumed that rocket-powered airplanes, which could take off, reach suborbital altitude, and land—repeatedly—were the way forward. That’s

why Neil Armstrong earned his astronaut’s wings in the X-15 plane, not on his Gemini mission.

However, the spaceplane, loaded down with heavy wings and draggy wheels, never carried as much payload as ballistic missiles; even less



ROMAN GERNI

could it achieve the massive thrust needed to reach orbital velocity. For instance, the X-20 Dyna-Soar—say that zippy name aloud—was canceled in 1963 precisely because the Gemini rocket provided the same bang for a third of the total launch mass.

The shuttle was conceived as a halfway house between the spaceplane's reusability and the expendable missile's capabilities. Alas, the halfway house was built to the wrong specifications, and we got a mindblowingly expensive, dangerous quasi-rocket that looks like a plane but that can be used just once before its "reusable" boosters have to be completely rebuilt. The result? A manned-spaceflight program flying in circles from the '70s onward, and a deformed hybrid that provides a lot of jobs in important voting districts, all while robots and probes have begun performing the kind of miracles astronauts were once expected to do.

NASA, clearly, has lost itself in space. But you don't have to be a rocket scientist to understand rocket science: It's all about reducing the cost per pound of payload taken into orbit. If this cost could be brought down to an affordable minimum, the entire calculus would change and every aspect of spaceflight—including missions to Mars, lunar bases, unmanned probes to Jupiter, space stations, etc.—would suddenly become not just feasible, but possibly commonplace.

There are two keys to lowering this cost. First, spacecraft, fuel tanks, and their boosters must be truly reusable, and reused scores of times. While the initial expenditure may be larger than that required to buy disposable versions, the former will be amortized over time, thereby lowering the cost per flight. Which partly explains why it's just \$149 for you to fly cross-country on a reusable Boeing 777—a complex piece of machinery with 3 million parts—where the cost basis is roughly a penny per pound, compared with \$10,000 per pound for the shuttle. In other words, if we want to conquer alien worlds and build orbital colonies, we're going to need to build a starship with airplane economics. Even the United Federation of Planets couldn't afford to maintain a fleet of ships on the NASA model.

The other key is competition—and I don't mean the Ansari X Prize recently

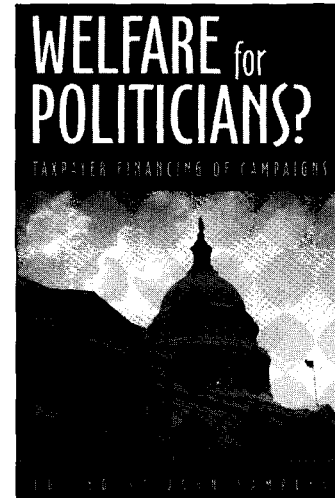
won by Bert Rutan's SpaceShipOne, which, its impressive engineering notwithstanding, cannot hit anywhere near orbital velocity. No, the real competition must focus on drastically cutting launch costs to Low Earth Orbit. One contender is SpaceX, a company founded by Elon Musk, co-founder of the Internet-payment service PayPal. SpaceX has developed the Falcon rocket: a two-stager that is jettisoned after the initial blast stage, parachutes into the water, is recovered by tugs, and is then reused. To keep costs down, SpaceX's "Mission Control" is an 18-wheeler, and the staff consists of just 30-odd people. The potential savings are enormous: A satellite launch on the small Falcon I is estimated to cost \$4,000 per pound compared with \$14,000 on the comparable Pegasus, an air-launched booster made by Orbital Sciences. Long-term, as Musk's rockets get bigger, they could be used for manned flights to the moon and Mars. SpaceX, which is set for at least four launches this year, may eventually fail—commercial space activity is still in the doldrums—but its importance lies in demonstrating that non-NASA/Boeing/Lockheed space exploitation and exploration need not be expensive or difficult.

Tell that to NASA, though. The agency is now soliciting design concepts for the new Crew Exploration Vehicle (CEV) that the VSE unoriginally posits as the Apollo-style manned transporter and reentry vehicle for the moon and Mars expeditions. The usual suspects have applied to build it, and if anything, the CEV will cost more per pound to launch than the old, jerry-rigged vehicles—at a time when budgets are more constricted.

Look, we can get a man to Mars using the old methods and by throwing money at the problem. That's not disputed. But if we want a *sustainable* and *affordable* long-term space effort, NASA and Friends must align their desires with current realities, and that means concentrating on getting a return on our dollars by ditching its dated contractor system and throwaway-booster concept. Otherwise, our latter-day Columbus will plant a flag, come home to cheers, and then the program, as Apollo did with in a few years of the first moon landing, will stall and we'll be staying right here on this pale blue dot, a lot poorer but little wiser.

NR

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# The GOP's Pataki Problem

What to do with the governor of New York?  
Not much, probably.

JOHN J. MILLER

**I**N January, George Pataki addressed the New York state legislature as governor for the eleventh time—and proceeded to deliver an interminable speech on creating more bird sanctuaries, building new ethanol facilities, and encouraging kids to exercise. In what turned out to be a major applause line, he announced: “This morning I signed an executive order requiring all state agencies and authorities to begin using non-toxic cleaning products.” When Pataki finally focused on taxes—New Yorkers endure the highest tax burden in the country—he mostly bragged about the achievements of the past. His major new proposal was to accelerate the phase-out of an income tax *increase*—a tax hike that had occurred on his own watch.

In fairness, Pataki didn’t actually favor that particular tax hike. Democrats and Republicans in the state legislature conspired to pass it against his wishes and then overrode his veto. Yet as Pataki contemplates another run for governor in 2006—or perhaps even a campaign for the presidency in 2008—it is difficult not to compare his latest state-of-the-state speech with the one he delivered a decade ago. “The government of New York state is too big and it spends too much money,” said the Pataki of 1995. Still on a high from his upset victory over Mario Cuomo, his liberal Democratic predecessor, the new GOP governor laid out a plan for aggressive tax cuts and spending reductions. And in the months ahead, he achieved much of what he sought and saved New York taxpayers billions of dollars.

Somewhere along the way, however, Pataki lost his enthusiasm for this bold project. Ten years ago, he had a chance to become one of America’s great governors. But starting in the late

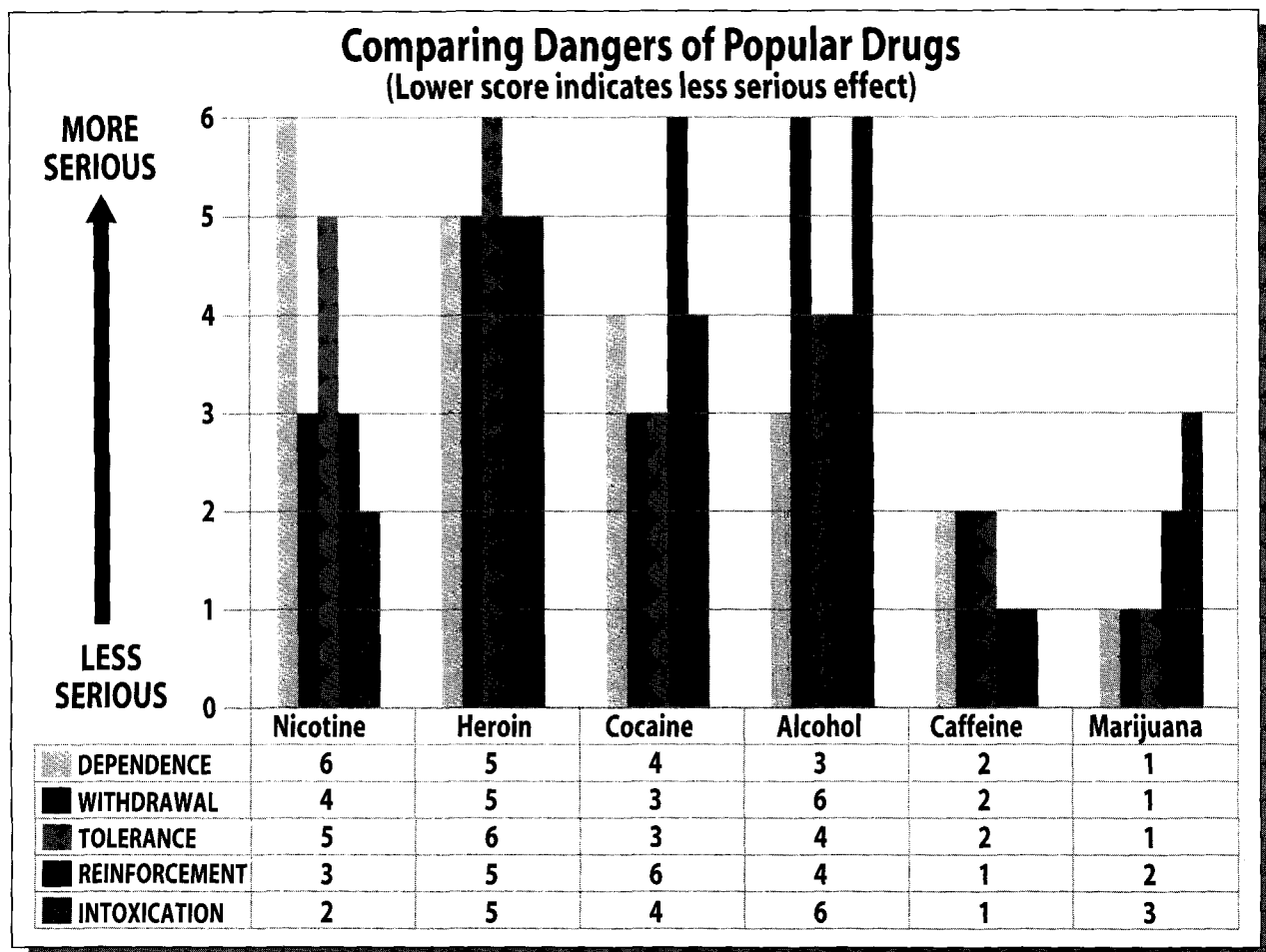
1990s, he devoted much of his energy to raising taxes and fees to keep up with state spending, arranging billion-dollar backroom deals with union bosses, and worrying about what kind of toilet-bowl cleaners swirl into the potties of Albany. Today, he presides over a state that just finished dead last in a survey of economic freedom conducted by *Forbes* magazine and the Pacific Research Institute. His tenure as the Empire State’s chief executive began with incredible promise—but its legacy almost certainly will be one of squandered opportunity, shrunken ambition, and conservative disappointment.

## LOSING HIS WAY

The 59-year-old Pataki is one of the most unassuming characters in politics. He would slip into the background of any room if his 6-foot, 5-inch height didn’t have him towering over much of it. Last year, a Quinnipiac University poll asked New Yorkers whether dinner with Pataki would be “fun”—and more of them said no (48 percent) than yes (42 percent). It’s no surprise that Rudy Giuliani completely eclipsed him in the aftermath of 9/11. Pataki’s speeches are bland even by gubernatorial standards, and they seem to emerge naturally from a laconic manner that has made many people in his own party feel utter indifference toward him. Liberals like to compare Pataki to George W. Bush, and not just because he attended Yale and became governor of a large state. Instead, they think he’s dumb and lazy. The charge isn’t fair, because Pataki isn’t dumb. (Of course, the charge against Bush is false on both counts.)

And *lazy* probably isn’t the best word for Pataki, either.

# Do Our Drug Laws Focus on the Truly Dangerous Drugs?



## Does Jailing Marijuana Users Make More Sense than Jailing Coffee Drinkers?

**Dependence:** How difficult it is for the user to quit, the relapse rate, the percentage of people who eventually become dependent, the rating users give their own need for the substance and the degree to which the substance will be used in the face of evidence that it causes harm. **Withdrawal:** Presence and severity of characteristic withdrawal symptoms. **Tolerance:** How much of the substance is needed to satisfy increasing cravings for it, and the level of stable need that is eventually reached. **Reinforcement:** A measure of the substance's ability, in human and animal tests, to get users to take it again and again, and in preference to other substances. **Intoxication:** Though not usually counted as a measure of addiction in itself, the level of intoxication is associated with addiction and increases the personal and social damage a substance may do.

**Source:** Dr. Jack E. Henningfield, Ph.D. for NIDA. Reported by: Philip J. Hilts, New York Times, Aug. 2, 1994 "Is Nicotine Addictive? It Depends on Whose Criteria You Use."

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Instead, he's disengaged—and remains aloof from some of his most important responsibilities. The governor has strayed from the more or less conservative principles that marked his political rise, lost his ability to bend the state legislature, and abandoned his responsibility to strengthen the GOP in New York. "Pataki-land has become a place that sells out on everything," says George Marlin, a Pataki appointee to the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey. "The governor is going to leave the Republican party intellectually bankrupt and the state fiscally bankrupt."

Conservatives weren't thinking about any kind of bankruptcy on election night in 1994, when Pataki defeated Cuomo and became an instant political celebrity. He had spent eight years in the state assembly and two more in the senate building a reputation for fiscal thrift and social liberalism. Few on the right had major qualms backing him because his social liberalism never took on the flamboyant qualities of, say, Giuliani's—Pataki was clearly a family man whose support for abortion didn't keep him from voting to restrict Medicaid funding of it. His race for governor was often portrayed as the handiwork of a king-making senator. To be sure, Alfonse D'Amato played a crucial part in Pataki's securing of the GOP nomination. But Pataki also was his own man, and he had spent years casting votes against Cuomo budgets, which put him in a perfect position to be an anti-Cuomo

"He decided to play Santa Claus," says an occasional ally. The governor never looked back to those early days of relative austerity. The Cato Institute, in its biennial fiscal-policy report card on governors, labeled Pataki a "liberal big spender." The *New York Times* actually endorsed him for another term, citing his "progressive and inclusive attitude."

This progression continued following Pataki's reelection, as the state government grew at a faster clip than it had even in Cuomo's second and third terms. E. J. McMahon of the Manhattan Institute's new Empire Center for New York State Policy calculates that if Pataki had held government growth to the rate of inflation—as Democratic governor Hugh Carey managed to do between 1975 and 1983—then New York could have given its residents another big income-tax cut. Instead, Pataki took the route of annual spending binges, which he financed by almost tripling cigarette taxes and boosting fees on just about everything else. Even though he had promised to serve no more than two terms as governor, he made plans for another race in 2002. He began secret negotiations with Dennis Rivera, the left-wing leader of a powerful union of hospital workers. Pataki agreed to give Rivera's members a pay raise worth nearly \$2 billion, and Rivera returned the favor with an endorsement. "That was his most boorish moment," says one observer. There were other payoffs to Big Labor, including set-aside contracts and

## The governor has strayed from the more or less conservative principles that marked his political rise.

candidate at a time when voters hungered for such a thing. During the campaign, he called for tax cuts and reinstating the death penalty—and he knocked off a liberal icon by four points. Even in a huge Republican year, this was a resounding victory.

In his early months as governor, Pataki reduced income taxes by 25 percent. He also cut the workers'-compensation tax, the capital-gains tax, the death tax, and the sales tax on clothing. Perhaps even more impressive was his spending restraint. When he walked into office, New York had a general-fund budget of \$42.7 billion. Over the next two years, it actually fell to \$41.5 billion, for a reduction of 2.5 percent. It appeared as though Pataki really believed his own rhetoric about the government's being too big and spending too much.

Then he changed his mind. He broke a promise to end rent control in New York City, supported billion-dollar bond initiatives, and oversaw Albany's absorption of the Long Island Lighting Company—the largest takeover of a private company by a state government in U.S. history and a move he had previously criticized Cuomo for supporting. But the worst news was yet to come. In the wake of the tax breaks and amid a growing economy, New York was generating surplus revenue. Rather than finding new ways to return it to taxpayers, Pataki encouraged Albany to go on a spending spree—and Albany obliged. As the 1998 election loomed, he called for the state government to grow by more than 8 percent (four times the rate of inflation).

rules making it easier to organize in the workplace. Many of the unions that didn't endorse him at least stayed neutral. The *New York Times* backed Pataki once again, praising him as "a generally sensible steward of the public's money."

All the while, Pataki assured conservatives that unseemly bargains were the cost of doing business in the rough-and-tumble world of New York politics. His apologists have a mantra: "Five to three," meaning that there are 5 million registered Democrats in New York compared to 3 million Republicans. If a GOP governor is to survive, goes the thinking, he'll occasionally have to trim sails. And yet both of Pataki's reelections were cakewalks. The governor didn't merely survive, he flourished—racking up a 21-point victory over his Democratic opponent in 1998 and a 15-point win in 2002. Given these comfortable margins, the strategy of expensive accommodation looks less than inspired. "President Bush is a natural leader: He just won a close reelection and now he's staking everything on Social Security reform," says one conservative. "Pataki is nothing but an accommodationist who is desperate to stay in power at any price."

### ERODING THE PARTY

At the start of his third term, Pataki proposed reducing the size of government once again—a rational response to the profligacy that had pounded a \$12 billion hole in the state budget. Conservatives hoped the governor was returning to his roots. Yet the

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legislature, including the GOP-controlled senate, ignored him and passed a hefty tax hike. The governor vetoed this but could only watch helplessly as he was overridden. Pataki postured as a taxpayer hero, though the experience merely called attention to one of his central shortcomings as governor: his failure to build an anti-tax coalition in Albany. Blaming the legislature for the state's addiction to taxes and spending, as Pataki has done, is like a pro-football coach's saying that his team loses games because his players are no good. The excuse may work for a couple of seasons, and it may even be true. But soon the question becomes: Why isn't the team getting better players? The fault ultimately lies with the coach, or whoever is in charge of draft picks, free agents, and trades. For New York Republicans, that person is George Pataki.

GOP fortunes have done nothing but sag since Pataki's first election as governor. Republicans have held steady in the state senate, but they've suffered severe losses in the assembly. The counties of Nassau, Suffolk, and Westchester—once GOP strongholds—have slipped into the Democratic column. "The party has been devastated at the local level," says one activist. It hasn't fared much better statewide. In 1998, Republicans failed to keep the attorney general's office and Chuck Schumer defeated D'Amato for the Senate. Two years later, Hillary Rodham Clinton carpetbagged her way to victory against a weak oppo-

time outside the state stumping for President Bush when he might have been back home raising money for state legislative candidates. Their irritation only worsened when newspapers revealed in January that the state GOP has been paying \$50,000 a year for Pataki's wife—a private consultant with a six-figure income—to have a personal assistant who shops for groceries. Wouldn't this money be better spent trying to win back Westchester?

It seems that Pataki likes the idea of being governor more than he enjoys doing the hard work the job requires. Tax cuts and spending restraint aren't the only conservative policies he's deserted. One of the signature achievements from his first term turned into a hollow victory: Pataki brought back the death penalty, but more than nine years later the state hasn't actually executed anybody. (Last year, a state court even ruled the legislature's new pro-death-penalty law unconstitutional.) The governor should be in a strong position to make sure his accomplishments are substantial, because his office is more powerful than it is in other states. Pataki enjoys significant authority to influence the budget. He also possesses a line-item veto and controls a vast system of patronage. And yet few lawmakers in Albany, even fellow Republicans, pay him much heed. For a man who says his favorite president is Teddy Roosevelt, Pataki seems strangely reluctant to use the bully pulpit. He walks soft-

## It seems that Pataki likes the idea of being governor more than he enjoys doing the hard work the job requires.

ment. Last fall, as Pataki coasted to reelection, the GOP didn't even bother to field a serious candidate against Schumer, who won one of the most lopsided elections in recent history. "The governor did nothing to make sure Schumer had a real opponent—absolutely nothing," says one former member of his administration. "It was pathetic."

Republicans are bound to fail again in 2006 against Clinton. Rather than grooming talent within the state, they've resorted to fantasies about Colin Powell's coming to their rescue. And if Pataki decides not to run for a fourth term, he has no heir apparent; Democratic attorney general Eliot Spitzer looks like a sure thing in any contest that doesn't include Pataki (and a strong challenger in one that does).

The problem is that Pataki has refused to engage in the nitty-gritty work of nurturing Republicans at the grassroots level. Whereas D'Amato was a retail pol who used to throw himself into township-supervisor races, Pataki is famously distant from such intricacies. When he has paid attention to political races other than his own, they've all been with an eye toward audiences outside New York, such as his vigorous effort to keep John McCain off the GOP primary ballot in 2000. New York recently went through a round of redistricting, but Pataki did next to nothing to shape the process, except to sign off on a protection plan for incumbents. Throughout 2004, New York Republicans complained that Pataki was spending too much

ly but doesn't even carry a toothpick.

He may in fact be bored. Although Pataki routinely denies interest in a Bush-administration job, his name appears on rumor lists with a curious persistence. He has been mentioned as a possible Treasury secretary or as the head of Homeland Security. Most recently, he was discussed as ambassador to the United Nations. As usual, he claimed he didn't want the post—though many New York Republicans think he said that only because he came to understand he couldn't have it.

Whatever the case, Pataki is now on a charm offensive with national conservatives. He has spoken to several influential groups of them in recent weeks, and has appointed NR's Lawrence Kudlow to a tax-reform commission. "The governor makes it sound like he's coming back to where he started," says Michael Long, head of New York's Conservative party. Pataki even showed up at an inaugural ball sponsored by conservatives in Washington. "All our jaws dropped," says a New Yorker who was there. "He's pretending like he never screwed us." A few days later, in Manhattan, Pataki delivered a PowerPoint presentation on his success as governor and his outlook for the future. New York's government, he said, "taxes too much" and "spends too much." By all accounts, his remarks went over well. But many people in the room were left to wonder: After a decade on the job, hasn't he done a lot of taxing and spending himself?

NR

## Those "Palestinian Refugees"

### Who are they, what is the real story?

The major and perhaps only sticking point in negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians is that of the "return of the Palestinian refugees." It sank the Camp David conference that President Clinton had arranged, even though Mr. Barak had made unprecedented concessions for the sake of peace. The new man, Mahmoud Abbas, who routinely refers to Israel as the "Zionist enemy," also insists that the "right of return" is not negotiable, and that there can be no peace unless those "refugees" are allowed to "return" to Israel.

#### What are the facts?

**650,000 "refugees" swell to 5 million.** You have heard about those "Palestinian refugees," who claim "right of return" to Israel. Of course, virtually none of them ever lived in Israel -- they are the children and mostly grandchildren of those who fled in 1948. The total number of those who fled in 1948 is estimated to have been about 650,000. Now the number who wish to return has swollen to almost five million!

How did this exodus come about? In 1948, on the day of the proclamation of the State of Israel, five Arab armies invaded the new country from all sides. In frightful radio broadcasts, they urged the Arabs living there to leave, so that the invading armies could operate without interference. They could return after the expected quick victory in that "holy war," get their property back -- and that of the Jews. Things turned out differently. The invading armies were defeated. Those who had left became refugees -- people without a country. Those who stayed, and their children, are full-fledged citizens of the State of Israel.

These so-called "Palestinian refugees" have not been allowed to settle in the "indivisible Arab nation." They have been supported in camps since 1948. So far, over \$2.0 billion has been spent on their maintenance. No end is in sight. Who pays for that? You guessed it: Through UNWRA Relief, the United States contributes more than 60% of the total cost.

The Arab countries, among them some of the richest in the world, who fritter away their enormous fortunes on frivolous luxuries, are satisfied to leave their Arab brethren in those miserable camps. They have never contributed a penny to their maintenance.

**Another side of the "refugee" story.** But there is another side to the "refugee" story. Little is heard of the 800,000 Jewish refugees from Arab countries, who fled those countries to settle in the newly formed Jewish State of Israel. Every one of these refugees was immediately accepted, resettled, taken care of, and given full citizenship by the fledgling, impoverished, and embattled Jewish State. There never has been, and

It is clear that the "Palestinian refugee problem" is a red herring, kept alive by the Arab nations for their political purposes, and with cynical disregard for the great number of impoverished people who live in these camps. It is being kept alive and is being used as a "non-negotiable" bargaining chip, for the purpose of destroying the State of Israel -- a feat that the Arabs have attempted several times by military means, but which has always ended in disastrous failure. Apart from the unsolvable social problems it would create, the introduction of, say, even one-half of the 5 million who claim to be "refugees" would, with one stroke, dramatically alter the demographic makeup of the country and would inevitably destroy the Jewish State. That is of course the whole idea behind the demand for the "return of the refugees". If the Arab nations were willing to solve the "refugee problem," the legitimacy of Israel could no longer be questioned. But that is not acceptable to the Arabs. They are firmly committed not to allow Israel or any "non-believers" to be in control of any part of the Middle East. It is that, and that alone, which is the real cause of the "Palestinian refugee problem."

there certainly is not now, a Jewish "refugee" camp in Israel or anywhere else.

The Arab "refugees" who fled Israel left little wealth and little history, since most of them had not come to "Palestine" until Jewish settlers opened economic opportunities in what had been a desolate country for centuries. But the Jews of Arab lands have a history going back thousands of years. When forced to flee, they left behind land, wealth,

and a long history. They arrived in Israel, quite literally only "with their shirts on their backs." They now make up almost 60% of the vibrant and productive population of Israel. What have the Arabs, the richest people in the world, done with their "refugees" in more than 50 years? They have kept

them in misery, on the dole of the world, and have taught their hopeless youth the "skills" of suicide missions and of slaughtering defenseless and unarmed men, women, and children.

If the Arab nations truly decided to make peace with Israel and to put an end to the century-long strife, they could easily accomplish it by accepting the "Palestinian refugees" in their countries and, just as Israel did with Jewish refugees from Arab countries, integrating them into their societies and making useful citizens of them. In fact, acceptance in their countries might also be offered to the Israeli Arabs, who, despite enjoying a higher standard of living, education, and health than Arabs in any of the surrounding countries and despite having the same civil rights as Israeli Jews, are not happy to live in a Jewish state.

Population transfers are common, especially in the wake of wars. They have been practiced throughout history. In 1923, Greece and Turkey agreed to the resettlement of 2 million Greeks and 800,000 Turks; in 1945, the resettlement of 3 million Germans from Poland and Czechoslovakia was arranged. Following the collapse of its North African Empire, France accepted close to 1.5 million people. More than 12 million(!) Muslims and Hindus were exchanged between India and Pakistan. Israel has recognized this historical necessity. The "Arab Nation," with its enormous wealth and vast under-populated lands, has stubbornly refused to face facts.

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# Confronting Iran

**Anyone with sense perceives a threat:  
What are our options?**

RACHEL ZABARKES FRIEDMAN

**Y**OU look around the world at potential trouble spots, Iran is right at the top of the list,” Vice President Cheney said in a recent radio interview, accusing Iran of supporting terror and pursuing a “fairly robust new nuclear program.” Cheney isn’t the only top administration official to signal growing American intolerance of Iranian activities: Secretary of State Rice did so during her confirmation hearings, and President Bush had harsh words for Iran in his State of the Union address. These comments are encouraging in light of the past several years, when the Bush administration was by most accounts paralyzed by internal divisions over Iran. But will we see a unified policy this term? What should that policy be?

Iran’s nuclear program is among the most troubling of Iran’s troubling behaviors. Since the U.N.’s International Atomic Energy Agency began inspecting Iran’s nuclear sites about two years ago, Iran has been caught lying “dozens” of times about its activities, says one State Department official. Iran’s clerics have played along with IAEA inspections, but have disclosed their activities only selectively. (U.S. officials have even raised concerns that IAEA chief Mohamed ElBaradei has coached the Iranians to evade detection.) Yet the IAEA says it does not have proof of an Iranian weapons program, and has resisted referring the case to the U.N. Security Council, which the Bush administration sees as the necessary next step.

The administration is emphasizing diplomacy, for now, as the best way to address the Iran problem, maintaining the threat of military action should diplomacy fail. Many American experts say a military strike against Iranian nuclear facilities—never mind an invasion of the country—would be misguided, as do leading Iranian oppositionists. But diplomacy and military action aren’t the only options. European cooperation is important, but the U.S. can also work to undermine Iran’s nuclear program by itself, and to encourage Iranian dissidents in their quest for a genuine democracy. The mullahs are not invulnerable, and with the right mix of international pressure and support for the Iranian people, President Bush may be able to affect the regime’s future. The only real alternative is to face an emboldened enemy and a highly unfavorable balance of power in the Middle East and beyond.

Some analysts believe there’s not enough intelligence to conclude Tehran is working on nuclear weapons. Their caution is reasonable enough, but the regime’s pattern of deception combined with the inherent risks of enriching uranium—something Iran

admits it is trying to do—should make any sensible person suspicious. Iran has little to gain economically from a civilian nuclear program, and has been caught producing some materials that have no plausible nonmilitary uses, according to the State Department official. Those concerned about a repeat of the Iraq situation should keep in mind that concerns about Iranian activity are based primarily on information revealed by the IAEA, and not solely on American intelligence.

Estimates vary considerably as to when Iran may be capable of producing a bomb. According to some in the administration, Iran’s program may still rely on technology from other countries, which if withheld could delay progress. Yet the head of Israeli intelligence recently predicted that Iran would reach the “point of no return” by the end of 2005, when it is likely to have the technology it needs to independently enrich uranium for military purposes.

A nuclear-armed Iran is a worrisome prospect. Iran created and finances Hezbollah, one of the world’s deadliest Islamist organizations, and provides support and haven for al-Qaeda. It has provided weapons to terrorists in the past, notably on the *Karine A* vessel intercepted in 2002 carrying 50 tons of explosives and other materials to the Palestinian Authority. Tehran has also made its intentions vis-à-vis the United States (and Israel) quite clear: At an annual military parade last September, Iran’s leaders showcased ballistic missiles with banners reading “We will crush America under our feet” and “Israel must be wiped off the map.”

Iran’s going nuclear would also encourage other unsavory regimes to pursue weapons of their own, and make it more difficult for the West, politically, to stop them. “If Iran has it, how can Egypt afford not to?” asks Dan Schueftan, a senior fellow at the Shalem Center in Jerusalem and at the National Security Research Center at the University of Haifa. “Arab regimes have much more to worry about from a nuclear Iran than they do even from Israel,” because Iran’s fear of retribution from a nuclear Israel would be greater than any fear of Arab retribution—the Arab states lacking nukes. Iran would feel more freedom of action with regard to those states.

## DIPLOMACY

There are essentially three approaches the U.S. government can take in the quest to prevent Iran from going nuclear: diplomacy, targeting Iran’s military sites, and abetting regime change from within.

The first of these options is what our European allies have been trying since 2003, on the premise that Iran will verifiably relinquish key parts of its nuclear program in exchange for economic and political rewards. As it stands now, Britain, France, and Germany (the EU 3) have persuaded Iran to suspend uranium enrichment while negotiating over a final deal. Iran’s mullahs, however, have made it clear that they have no intention of stopping enrichment permanently. They claim their nuclear program is intended for peaceful purposes, and that they have the “right” under the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty to enrich uranium for nonmilitary ends.

Yet Iran has no real need for a uranium-enrichment capability: Even if one grants Tehran’s desire for nuclear energy (despite the fact that Iran sits on large amounts of oil and natural gas, and that nuclear energy is far more expensive than other sources of power), Russia and the EU 3 are willing to ensure that its civilian

reactors are supplied with affordable fuel. More important, the line between enrichment for peaceful purposes and enrichment for weapons-production is blurry: As former Pentagon official Henry Sokolski of the Nonproliferation Policy Education Center has pointed out, Iran could move spent fuel from its power reactors to a covert reprocessing plant, or feed the low-enriched uranium intended as reactor fuel into centrifuges to create weapons. Further, light-water reactors like the one Russia is building for Iran at Bushehr can themselves "be a copious source of near-weapon grade plutonium suitable for bombs," according to an NPEC report.

Sokolski therefore advocates challenging Iran's interpretation of the Nonproliferation Treaty, making clear what kind of "peaceful" nuclear activities are too close to bomb-making to be considered harmless. "The Iranians don't have an inalienable right to reprocess and enrich something that's grossly uneconomical and dangerous," he says. "If that's legal and peaceful, the game's over." The setting up of clear rules would "give us some level of confidence to act against what would otherwise be an overly cocky and arrogant Iran."

Even if the EU 3 agree, as they appear to, that Iran's enrichment of uranium is unacceptable, some say the mullahs' insistence could be a bluff—an attempt to raise the price of stopping their nuclear program altogether. "They figure it would strengthen their bargaining position," says Robert Einhorn, a Clinton-

administration nonproliferation officer currently at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Most likely, he says, they either intend to give up their program or are unsure and need more "carrots" to induce them.

Yet as Einhorn also acknowledges, the mullahs may have no intention of relinquishing their nuclear efforts: They have already invested considerable resources, gaining both heightened regional power and a degree of support from a disgruntled populace. Plus, they know Iranian citizens could interpret their backing down as a sign of weakness. "That's a very real danger," says one senior administration official. "The regime has gone to some length to build or try to build a nationalistic base of support for the nuclear program. . . . The public justification is about keeping foreigners from meddling with 'our rights.'"

Even if the Iranians were willing to relinquish their nuclear program for the right price, they won't unless there are clear costs to not doing so—costs that the Europeans, in their eagerness to repudiate American "cowboy" unilateralism and to maintain good economic relations with Tehran, have been unwilling to articulate. Their approach, says the Shalem Center's Schueftan, has been to "speak softly and carry a toothpick." Further, if the negotiators' underlying premise is wrong and Tehran intends to persist until it obtains a weapon, negotiations do nothing more than buy it time.

Meanwhile, there isn't a great deal the United States can do to

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penalize Iran without European cooperation. "The Europeans need to be shamed, and I'm counting on the Iranians to do that," says another senior administration official. In other words, the Iranians need to be caught cheating egregiously enough to prompt the Europeans to reevaluate their policy; should that happen, a range of options will open up, first among them a Security Council referral. Even if a resolution fails to pass, the referral itself will make it harder for states such as Russia to justify supplying Tehran with nuclear technology.

And an Iranian shame factor will kick in: The Security Council, says the first administration official, is "a forum we all know Iran takes much more seriously than it does the [IAEA] Board of Governors, which was clear from the desperation in Iran's efforts to avoid being sent there." Unlike North Korea, Iran values the esteem of other countries; facing international censure may help induce some sort of positive change in its behavior.

The administration won't be able to test that hypothesis, however, unless the Europeans change their course, and there is a chance they won't: They've been cheated by Iran before, yet persist with negotiations. There's also the looming—and considerable—danger that Iran will simply withdraw from the Nonproliferation Treaty once capable of producing its own weapons. And so it's necessary to consider a second option: creatively undermining Iran's nuclear program before it becomes too late.

#### GETTING ROUGHER

This could be pursued in several ways. One way, covert action, might entail sabotaging Iran's nuclear sites, selling the Iranians faulty equipment on the black market, or gathering evidence of illicit Iranian weapons-related transactions, evidence to be provided to our allies. Our capacity to carry out covert action is dependent on our intelligence and our forces on the ground, both of which may be unreliable at the moment. In any event such actions will only buy time. Yet they are advisable in the near term, as the administration works to bring the Europeans on board or prepares for the next stage of unilateral action, whatever it may be.

In addition, the Bush administration has and can continue to put to use its multinational Proliferation Security Initiative. One of the factors in Libya's decision to give up its weapons program was the PSI interdiction of a shipment of nuclear technology headed its way. Given that Iran is not under nearly as much international pressure as Libya was, such efforts are unlikely to have a strong direct effect. But they will help drum up opinion against Tehran and perhaps erode European patience.

The boldest way to target Iran's nuclear program is to conduct precision air strikes on its facilities. This appears to be the quickest, cleanest way to allay our concerns. But many caution that we don't know where all of Iran's nuclear facilities are, and that the sites are too spread out to make such a bombing campaign worthwhile. "If I thought we could take away their nuclear card reliably by military means," says the Hoover Institution's Larry Diamond, "then I would favor that if we can't get an agreement soon. But reports I get all converge on a common theme: This stuff is spread out on the ground, it's buried in a lot of places." Adds Eliot Cohen

of Johns Hopkins University, "I've found my faith in American intelligence shaken by the Iraq episode. I find it hard to believe that we know where everything is."

In a recent *New Yorker* article, Seymour Hersh wrote that the Pentagon is already conducting reconnaissance missions in Iran in preparation for possible military action. But administration officials call Hersh's reporting dubious, and the Pentagon denounced his article as "riddled with errors of fundamental fact." Some covert activities may be taking place in Iran—one hopes so—but Hersh, notorious for his conspiracy-weaving and general inaccuracy, is not the person to trust on that score.

Even if it were technically possible to set Iran's nuclear program back several years through bombing—and the administration probably knows more than it says about the locations of Iran's nuclear sites—there are dangers to consider. First, reports indicate that at least some of the Iranian sites are located in densely populated civilian areas. Bombing Iran also (and as a

result) risks losing what support we now have among the Iranian population. "The goodwill of the Iranian people," says Hoover's Abbas Milani, formerly of Tehran University, is "worth a great deal of capital. I would not squander that if I were in a decision-making position."

The conventional wisdom seems to be, as Diamond puts it, that "an external military strike would strengthen the regime politically, rally support behind it, and give the radical mullahs a much stronger hand." That may be going too far: The Iranian opposition, and general dissatisfaction with the mullahs, are strong enough to make genuine widespread support for the regime unlikely, even in the face of an American attack. Nevertheless, taking Iranian lives without making a significant dent in the nuclear program seems a sure way to

lose some Iranian goodwill.

Meanwhile, the administration's Israel card—the suggestion that Israel might take out Iran's program militarily, as it did in Iraq in 1981—appears unlikely for some of the same reasons. Says the Shalem Center's Michael Oren, "The Iranian nuclear program is not the Iraqi program redux. . . . Any Israeli air squad would have to refuel at least twice there and back." Plus, "It's very complex to do without some kind of American knowledge, so Americans will get blamed for it anyway."

Losing Iranian good feeling might not sound like a terrible price to pay for removing the threat of a nuclear rogue state, but if we consider the long-term objective of promoting a regime change in Iran it becomes far more troubling. If the mullahs are set on producing weapons, any action short of toppling their government will at best merely set back their nuclear program, not eliminate it. And even if Tehran were somehow persuaded to abandon its efforts, it could still support terrorist attacks and continue developing chemical weapons and ballistic missiles. As one of the senior administration officials puts it, "It's not that they're doing one or two things that we find objectionable—they're doing a whole range of things we find objectionable."

A democratic Iran might not be a staunch American ally, but it is unlikely to support terrorism to the same extent and even less likely to be reckless in its use of devastating technology. Our



turbulent history with the Islamic Republic and the failure of Iranian moderates to reform the government from within—some say meaningful reform is constitutionally impossible, since ultimate power resides with the clerical Guardian Council—suggest regime change should be a long-term goal.

#### A NEW IRAN

There are two general regime-change strategies to consider. Both assume the change should come from within, and that peaceful revolution is possible. Where they differ is on the question of how the United States should treat those currently in power: One supports confrontation only, the other limited engagement.

The first strategy is out-and-out repudiation: declaring Iran an international pariah and working to isolate it politically and economically. Its point is to bring extreme pressure to bear on the regime, weakening and humiliating it enough either to force a reevaluation of its nuclear program or, better yet, to allow for a peaceful democratic transition. The tools of confrontation include propagandizing against the regime, calling attention to its human-rights abuses, and persuading our allies to limit economic relations. “Careful use of rhetoric can have a real effect,” explains Michael Rubin of the American Enterprise Institute; though Bush took a lot of heat for his Axis of Evil speech in 2002, “in many ways it was brilliant, because when Bush delivered that speech, foreign investment in Iran plummeted.”

The analytic foundation of this line of thought, which is held by some within the administration, is that the fundamental conflict in Iran is not between the regime’s reformists and its hard-liners, but rather between the regime itself and those on the outside who wish to see it replaced with a new constitution. A source familiar with the administration’s policymaking likens the situation to that within the Soviet Union. “What was the great political divide in the Soviet Union in the late 1980s? It was the Communists versus the people. There are a lot of people who think that to support the [intra-regime] reform movement in Iran is the way to go,” says the source, but so-called reformers like current President Khatami only wish to make the clerical regime more palatable.

In this view, even talking to members of the current Iranian government legitimizes it and undermines the opposition. By contrast, the limited-engagement approach—recently articulated by the Committee on the Present Danger, a group of foreign-policy experts that focuses on the terrorist threat—maintains that some contact with the Iranian government is necessary to support the opposition and promote American ends. A committee report authored by Mark Palmer laid out a strategy of opening the regime to American influence while at the same time marginalizing the clergy. “Opening up dictatorships is key to helping the forces of change,” says the report. “We were on the ground with an embassy and support programs for Solidarity in Poland, which played a central role in the nonviolent transition to democracy.”

This approach, if it succeeded—that is, if Tehran were willing to allow the kinds of contact it demands—would have its advantages, particularly in making it easier to communicate with and support Iranian pro-democracy groups. Yet engagement is not without its costs, particularly now. While the committee’s report advocates “smart sanctions” against corrupt Iranian oligarchs, it also proposes that the American government state its “willingness

to meet with Iranian officials to discuss issues of concern to us” and in so doing to “reiterate that trade and investment relations can move forward” as progress is made. If the U.S. government is serious about this, and if the mullahs change their behavior—even temporarily—the result will be an economic and political strengthening of the regime.

Perhaps engagement could be to America’s advantage at some point, but right now Iran has little need to compromise. Unlike the Poland of the 1980s, it has some economic stability, a powerful hand in the region, and no effective reformer to impose a degree of openness to the West. The administration should also be wary of so-called Iranian “pragmatists” who signal their desire for improved relations with the United States but whose chances of implementing genuine policy changes are small. Further, engagement is unlikely to succeed before Iran acquires a nuclear weapon; and once equipped with one the mullahs will have even less reason than previously to bargain with the United States and tolerate American support for their opponents.

The opposition, for its part, appears fairly hopeful at the moment, despite the failure of Khatami’s reform movement, the recent arrests of bloggers and activists, and repeated abuses such as the hanging and stoning of teenage girls. It also shows signs of coalescing. Student leaders recently launched a movement to introduce a nationwide referendum on Iran’s constitution, and several prominent Iranian leaders and groups have signed on. The movement therefore represents a broad spectrum of Iranian opinion, from the far Left to Reza Pahlavi, son of the last shah. There are also efforts underway, according to Khosro Shemirani, an Iranian journalist living and working in Canada, to form the first independent Iranian workers’ union, with more than 30 organizations participating.

Owing to intelligence limitations and the complexity of the landscape, the administration’s knowledge of Iranian pro-democracy groups is likely to be limited. Sources familiar with the scene whisper that some groups have ties to the regime, or that any group that would take money from the United States is probably insincere in its democratic professions. Still, there is a lot the U.S. can do to support the opposition generally, such as encouraging radio broadcasting of reliable news, supporting non-governmental organizations that provide resources and training, offering assistance to labor organizations, and most of all publicizing its support for Iranian freedoms and an end to the clerical regime.

The Iranian threat isn’t going to disappear tomorrow. Iran needs first to be shown the costs of its nuclear activities and other aggressions, and the opposition needs the moral support of the West. While waiting for the Europeans to come on board, the administration has little to lose from taking quieter steps to undermine Iran’s nuclear program and support pro-democratic movements. As Lech Walesa, the leader of Poland’s Solidarity, wrote about Ronald Reagan, “Cowboys fight for justice, fight against evil, and fight for freedom, both physical and spiritual.” The Europeans may not always repudiate Bush the “cowboy”—these days they face a smooth and sophisticated Rice articulating his policies, and British prime minister Tony Blair recently joined the U.S. in branding Iran a leading sponsor of terrorism. In supporting Iranians’ democratic aspirations, the president will be carrying on a venerable American tradition. The Iranian people—unlike their rulers—are in a position to appreciate it.

NR

# Swiss Misses

And some hits, too: Scenes from the party in the Alps

JAY NORDLINGER

**H**ERE at the Annual Meeting of the World Economic Forum, you have your heads of state, your foreign ministers, your titans of business, your intellectuals (pseudo and real)—but you also have Sharon Stone, Angelina Jolie, and Richard Gere. Davos is pretty swell as it is, but with movie stars: wowza.

*Davos, Switzerland*

You may wish to know how Sharon Stone looks. Answer: great. Really great. Oughta be in pictures. And Angelina Jolie? I don't see her, but someone who knows someone I know does, and his testimony is, "She's actually unphotogenic. She's so much more beautiful in person, it's not even funny."

Sharon and Richard (Gere) are the marquee attractions at an Opening Day luncheon, and the topic is AIDS. Before she begins to speak, Sharon—Miss Stone, I suppose I should say—gets a serious, actress-about-to-address-something-grave look on her face. She swallows a little. She begins, "I really don't belong here, with all you smarty-pants. I don't have your education, and probably not your world experience, although I have a certain experience. But . . ." It is the most masterly downplaying of expectations I have ever seen. Right out of the Speaker's Handbook, Chapter One.

The gist of her remarks is that AIDS is readily solvable, but that "greed and arrogance stop us." We—we richies—simply don't want to spend enough, simply don't care enough. We are stingy and callous. The actress concludes, "If we just stopped arrogantly killing people all over the world, and channeled the money into AIDS, we would have a solution."

I imagine that "arrogantly killing people" is an allusion to America's War on Terror. I think for a minute about that phrase, *arrogantly killing people*. What a perfect way to describe the work of the Taliban and Saddam Hussein's regime! But this sort of thinking doesn't fly in Hollywood, and it doesn't much fly in Davos. I have said it before: There are many people—I keep encountering them, and reading them—who would rather homosexuals be stoned to death than that they be liberated by George W. Bush and the U.S. military. The latter is the greater indignity.

The atmosphere in Davos is not quite Durban—I refer to that hate-America, hate-Israel jamboree in South Africa, days before September 11—but it slides that way. Bush's name is mud, the War on Terror's name is mud. It's sort of assumed that you—that we all—will consider Bush a moron, and his administration a tragedy (if not a crime). The Davosers seem to be waiting it out until Hillary—one of their darlings—wins in '08. The administration has not sent any high-level officials to the meeting this year. (My apologies to labor secretary Elaine Chao, who is present.) Last year,

they sent Cheney, and the year before that, Powell. This year, they haven't bothered—and it's hard to blame them. Whether they could have much effect is doubtful. Then again, nothing ventured . . .

To observe the American abroad—especially the American journalist abroad—is always a hoot. Many need to prove themselves more anti-Bush than thou, as though to assure the Euros that they're not Fox News-watching Bible-thumpers. Speaking of Fox News, the very name is a kind of obscenity, like *neocon*. Al-Jazeera is quite accepted (and there are several representatives here); Fox is the network non grata. You should see a major liberal reporter (American) explain to a major Middle Eastern editor that "if you really want to understand the American mindset, you've got to watch Fox News"—because the hicks from the sticks drink it in all day long, ending up drunk on propaganda. Beautiful.

The Bush administration does have its defenders, however: Tony Blair and John Howard. Blair gives a speech concentrated on aid to Africa and global warming, but he spends the first part of it explicating and seconding Bush's inaugural address. He doesn't have to: He could just go to the safe stuff (because everyone at Davos agrees about Africa and global warming). But, not for the first time, he shows spine. The inaugural address is cited as "evidence of the 'neoconservative' grip on Washington," Blair says. "I thought progressives were all in favor of freedom rather than tyranny." The room is silent, rebuked. As for Howard, he is loose, confident, Australian to the core—and he basically tells the anti-Americans to stick it.

One of the more peculiar panels is chaired by Graham Allison, former dean of the Kennedy School of Government. It is on nuclear non-proliferation, and one of its guests is the foreign minister of Iran. (Read that again, if you have to.) The foreign minister, Kamal Kharrazi, says that the United States created al-Qaeda for the purpose of destroying the Iranian government. I'm perhaps not the only one who thinks, "They've done a lousy job of it, if so." Also on this panel is Mohamed ElBaradei, chief of the International Atomic Energy Agency. At one point, the moderator, Mr. Allison, says he wishes to speak "as an American." You see, our government, before the Iraq war, said Saddam had nukes, and ElBaradei said no, and our invasion proved the U.S. wrong, and ElBaradei right. Funny, but that's not the way I remember this recent history—and what government in its right mind would invade a country armed with nukes? But preemption seems too difficult a doctrine to explain to learned people.

## CARTER'S COMPETITION

The big American kahuna, of course, is not Graham Allison, and not even Sharon Stone, but Bill Clinton. He sits on a panel dealing with aid to Africa, along with Blair, Bono (the rock star), Bill Gates (Microsoft), and the presidents of South Africa and Nigeria: Mbeki and Obasanjo. The moderator of the session, French anchorwoman Christine Ockrent, wheels on Clinton, demanding to know why America is so stingy when it comes to foreign aid (did you know we were?). He answers, "Because no one will ever get beat running for Congress or president" by failing to espouse such aid. I have complimented Clinton's Davos performances before—in general, he's pretty good abroad—but he is a bit shameful here. Then it gets worse.

Clinton says, "The White House has just announced another \$80 billion for the war in Iraq, and we could take half of that" and solve

all of Africa's problems. The crowd whoops and cheers. This is a cheap political technique: to say, "Instead of spending money on X, we ought to spend it on Y." If Clinton thinks we should spend more on foreign aid, he should say so. And if he opposes our efforts in Iraq, he should say so. But to spite the war while calling for more aid to Africa—cheap.

I think of what may be my favorite political cartoon of all time. (I'm sorry I can't credit the cartoonist, because I can't remember who drew it.) In the first of two panels, Tip O'Neill has his arm around Reagan, and he says, "Do you know how many hot school lunches your \$100 million in aid to the Contras would buy?" In the second panel, Reagan has his arm around the Speaker, responding, "Yes, Tip—half as many as your \$200 million in aid to Ireland." (Young people will have to be told that, when Reagan wanted to spend money on the military, or on any aspect of the Cold War, Democrats would say how many "hot school lunches" you could buy with the same money. It was a perpetual tic of the 1980s.)

But Clinton isn't through yet. He says that anyone who complains about corruption in African governments—who expresses caution about handing over money to these governments—"should be put in a closet, so no one has to listen to [him]." That, too, elicits whoops and cheers. And it is an odd thing for a democrat to say. Some of us believe that Carter is our worst ex-president ever (the opposite of the conventional wisdom). But the Arkansan is nipping at his heels.

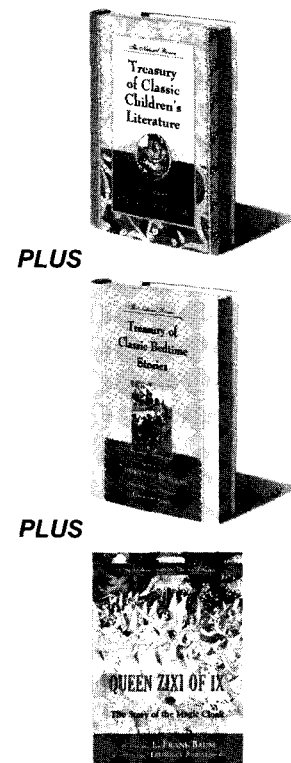
Well, we can count on John McCain, right? Less than I would have thought. At a dinner for journalists—that's his best audience: journalists—McCain takes up the subject of the Guantanamo Bay prisoners. They are Davos's favorite prisoners, those other prisoners on Cuba—innocent, democratic guests of Fidel Castro—not rating a peep. McCain is a "try 'em or release 'em" man. (He actually puts it in exactly those terms.) How you try terrorists nabbed on the Afghan battlefield, he does not venture to say. He does say, "Even Eichmann got a trial." Wrap your mind around that, will you?

His worst moment comes, however, when an Arab journalist rises to ask him whether "the neocons are still controlling policy in Washington." This is a golden opportunity: a chance to dispel a pervasive, somewhat sinister myth. But instead of dispelling the myth—that Bush is a puppet of foreign-policy Fagins—McCain more like reinforces it. He says, "There are always power struggles in Washington." Sometimes you're up, sometimes you're down. But Bush is feeling "more secure" in this second term—which implies that an insecure Bush could have been manipulated by others in the first. "Have I done a good enough job ducking your question?" the senator asks. The questioner—a bold, flashing-eyed lady—looks vindicated in her suspicions.

What American have I come to praise? Any? Try Barney Frank, the Democratic congressman from Massachusetts. On a panel, he and I spar over Bush's inaugural address—he disdains, I like—but he is gung-ho on the protection of Taiwan, and on holding the Chinese Communists to account. He won't hear anything about "Asian values," or "different styles of democracy"—democracy is democracy, he says, certainly in its essence. As the discussion continues, a distinguished Englishwoman who heads a "peace-research institute" in Stockholm says that China and Iran are two countries that don't worry her. Oh? wonders Frank. Which do? The answer: "Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq, Israel." "Really?" replies Frank.

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## NATIONAL REVIEW

215 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10016

"You're more worried about Israel than about Iran or China?" But of course! One must remember what continent one is on.

Later in the week, Frank is on a different panel, this one concerning the media. A co-panelist is Eason Jordan, chief news executive of CNN. I am not present for this session, but I hear about it, from journalists and others, and many people are abuzz. Jordan has either stated or implied—accounts vary—that U.S. forces in Iraq target journalists for murder. Yes, murder. Barney Frank won't let this glide by: *Whoa, whoa, whoa*, he says. *What did you say? This is a deliberate policy? Your network has reported this, right?* Well, no, actually. Jordan starts to backpedal—he has gone too far, despite the enthusiasm in the room for what he has said. An odd

Toward the end of the coffee, Qaddafi is asked about the Holocaust, and the widespread Arab denial of same. The room tenses. Qaddafi begins—very, very hesitantly—"I'm not a historian, and I don't know all the facts." Uh-oh. One can see where this is heading. But he sort of catches himself and allows that "it is incorrect to deny the Holocaust." Why? Because the Soviets liberated Auschwitz—"We didn't learn about [the Holocaust] from the Zionists or the *New York Times*," but from the Red Army. So, again, "to deny the Holocaust is incorrect." The Davos official with us says, "On that conciliatory note . . ." Extraordinary: that an admission that the Holocaust occurred—because the Red Army said so—should be "conciliatory." But there you go.



The 42nd president's the one on the left.

thing about attending Davos is that liberal Dems such as Frank, Sander Levin, and Ed Markey can come off as John Foster Dulles. The context is everything.

#### FACES IN THE CROWD

Numerous at the Annual Meeting are Arabs, but I don't see many democrats or reformers. Wouldn't it be thrilling if Saad Ibrahim—the sometime Egyptian political prisoner—attended? I see lots of officials, and, of course, those Jazeera reps. One of them explains that her network must refer to suicide-bombers as "martyrs," because the Arab public would stand for no less: You see, Palestine is under occupation, and these bombers have no choice; hence, they are martyrs. I wonder what language is left over for their victims.

A star of the show is Saif al-Islam al-Qaddafi, son of you-know-who. He is the heir apparent, and a Great Arab Moderate—at least, that is his reputation. Handsome and urbane, he is a figure to reckon with. Over coffee with journalists, he says that he considers terrorism in Iraq "legitimate"—because this terror is "resistance" to "occupation." After all, Kofi Annan has declared the U.S.-led war illegal. America, continues the young man, has robbed Iraq—and, by extension, all Arabs—of "dignity and honor." And these are "very important to us." Fascinatingly, he holds that Arabs have lost all their wars against Israel because Israel is a democracy, while the Arab states are not. It will take democracy to improve Arab prospects. Quips an Israeli at the table—though somewhat nervously—"May you never have democracy." For the Palestinians and the Israelis, Qaddafi envisions a single state, on the model of South Africa. This is the "final solution," he says. Oops.

If there's a man of the hour—and there is—it is Victor Yushchenko, the new president of Ukraine. He wears his opposition on his face, disfigured by poisoning. By a murder attempt, to be plain. It is an unbelievably noble face, and Yushchenko is an immensely dignified presence. Speaking to a packed auditorium, he wears an orange tie—symbolizing the Orange Revolution—and carries an orange folder. (The latter is perhaps overkill.) He begins by quoting a bit of what he calls ancient Ukrainian wisdom: "If you struggle, and God is with you—if the Holy Will is with you—you will win." Who knew that Yushchenko was a kooky theocrat?

His main point to the crowd is that Ukraine is a European nation, longing to come home to Europe. At a lunch the next day with journalists, he makes similar points. And he is wonderfully candid: "My country is a deeply corrupt country." He has a message for investors, and anyone else doing business in Ukraine: "Do not offer bribes to anyone." In fact, you can enter a new line, when you do your accounting: "Saved expenses on ungiven bribes to Ukrainian officials."

As the first course is served, Yushchenko offers a toast: "I wish you prosperity in all your endeavors. I wish you physical and moral health. [A striking phrase, that.] And may you have a white angel sitting on your left shoulder, taking care of you." Then he claims that the toast—the act of toasting—originated in Kiev, centuries ago. At the time, the most common means of eliminating one's opponents was poison (!). So you clinked your glasses hard, causing drops from both drinks to spill into the other.

Everyone chuckles, warmed and amazed. At Davos, there is a lot of what Clare Booth Luce called globaloney—but there is also inspiration, and we have just had a strong dose.

NR

# HELD

## SOCIAL INSECURITY

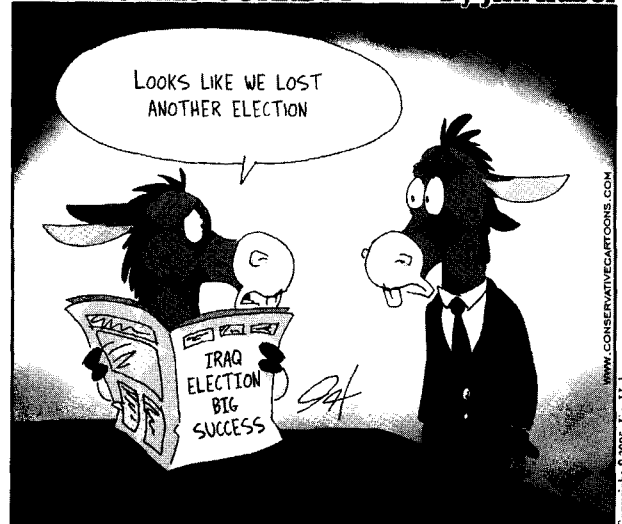
*At FDR's memorial,  
Dems gathered to regroup—  
A dreary Thirties tableau that  
Recalled soup-kitchen soup.  
Birds an emoting Bush had charmed  
Chirped, jarring Harry Reid.  
Pelosi . . . Let's say something nice:  
The girl's not knock-kneed.*

—W. H. VON DREELE



## POLITICALLY CORRECT

By Jim Huber



"I had to take her out, dear—your mother was developing weapons of mass destruction."



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"BIG DEAL. THE ABSENCE OF SUNNI PARTICIPATION MAKES THIS AN ILLEGITIMATE HUG."

# the long view

ROB LONG

## Larry King Live Transcript, February 21st, 2005

LARRY KING: "Tonight! A Where-Have-They-Been hour! We'll be catching up with some superstars from yesteryear! Plus, your calls! Our first guest is a name that might have you scratching your heads, one of those 'Isn't he dead?' sort of situations, except in this case, he's not! Daniel Ortega, welcome to the show."

DANIEL ORTEGA: "Gracias, Señor Larry."

LARRY KING: "For the youngsters out there—and for the oldsters like me who have trouble keeping things straight—let us know, again, who you are and what Daniel Ortega was all about."

DANIEL ORTEGA: "Well, first, Señor Larry, let me just say that I'm enormously grateful for this chance to appear again on your show."

LARRY KING: "Refresh my memory. You were here . . . ? When?"

DANIEL ORTEGA: "Back in the Eighties."

LARRY KING: "Narrow ties. J. R. Ewing. Soviet Union. Junk bonds. Step aerobics. Got it."

DANIEL ORTEGA: "I was the revolutionary leader of Nicaragua. President Reagan wanted me dead. Your government sponsored an insurgent army to topple me. Any of this ringing a bell?"

LARRY KING: "Help me out with Nicaragua."

DANIEL ORTEGA: "Small country to the south. Was a big, big deal for a few years. Seriously. I was on the front page of the *New York Times* like 400 times. I was big, big news. You guys sponsored a war in my country because I was an ally of the Soviet Union."

LARRY KING: "And why was that, Daniel? What was the appeal there?"

DANIEL ORTEGA: "Honestly, Señor Larry, I can't really say. But anyway, right around the time of Iran-Contra . . ."

LARRY KING: "Were you an Iran Contra? I thought you were in Nicaragua. From

Berkeley, California, hello!"

CALLER: "Hi, Larry, and buenas tardes, Señor Comandante!"

DANIEL ORTEGA: "Finally."

LARRY KING: "Caller, what's your question?"

CALLER: "I just wanted to tell the Comandante how much we all miss him, and to ask him how he keeps looking so fit."

LARRY KING: "Good question. You look good."

DANIEL ORTEGA: "Thank you. As you know, physical fitness was one of the pillars of my leadership in Nicaragua, and so . . ."

LARRY KING: "You were a Contra?"

DANIEL ORTEGA: "No! I cannot believe this! The Contras were an insurgent army supported by Ronald Reagan to undo the socialist revolution I created in Nicaragua. I was like a really big

star for a bunch of years! Jeez. *60 Minutes* followed me around New York one day, watching me buy sunglasses. I was hot, Larry. I mean hot!"

LARRY KING: "What's the rest of your story?"

DANIEL ORTEGA: "Well, after a few years of leading the country—"

LARRY KING: "What year were you elected?"

DANIEL ORTEGA: "Complicated question. I was sort of . . . unelected."

LARRY KING: "You know what? This is ringing a bell!"

DANIEL ORTEGA: "Good! For a moment there I was feeling like a real has-been. Anyway, after a few years of running the country, I was forced to hold an election."

LARRY KING: "How did that go?"

DANIEL ORTEGA: "Not so well, Señor Larry. I lost."

LARRY KING: "Tough break. From Ann Arbor, Michigan, hello!"

CALLER: "Um, I'd like to ask your guest whether he sees any parallels between the dirty war we fought in Central America and the one we're fighting now in Iraq?"

LARRY KING: "What about that? Parallels? Vietnam? Iraq? War? Stuff like that?"

DANIEL ORTEGA: "Well, the war your country fought in Central America was exactly like Vietnam, except that it was shorter and it was successful. So there's that. As far as Iraq goes, it's hard to say, really. But I do have to say that your country's media have a habit of abandoning their allies."

LARRY KING: "You feel we abandoned you?"

DANIEL ORTEGA: "Señor Larry, right after your military forced me to have elections—I'm talking a few hours after I lost—it was like I suddenly became a non-person. The *New York Times*, CBS News, CNN—none of you guys would return my calls. I had speaking engagements lined up in Cambridge and New Haven and Santa Cruz and it was like, boom!, a don't-call-us-we'll-call-you thing. Do you have any idea what that does to a person? To his self-esteem? For years I'm the toast of your media, then I lose one little election—which I shouldn't even have held, and wouldn't have if it hadn't been for a guy my friends at the *Times* and CBS News hated anyway!—I lose one little election and suddenly I'm some schmo getting a call from Mrs. Johnson at American Express about being a few days late with my payment. You know, if this is how the media bigshots in your country treat their heroes, then you know what? They don't deserve to have any."

LARRY KING: "The pain is still there. I can hear it."

DANIEL ORTEGA: "Damn right it's still there. I was talking to Castro the other day and he says to me, Danny, he says, I'm old and tired and I want to give up the game, maybe travel a bit, make some money spinning yarns on college campuses up north. And I says to him, Jefe, I says, Jefe don't do it. Stay put. There's nothing worse than being a former dictator. Nothing sadder than putting "retired strongman" on your visa form."

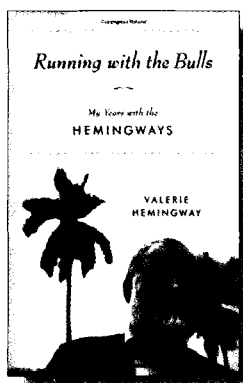
LARRY KING: "Tomorrow night! The whole hour with Corey Feldman, remembering nights with Michael Jackson under hypnosis!"

DANIEL ORTEGA: "That's who I feel like! One of the Coreys!"

LARRY KING: "We'll be right back!"



## Prose Against Death



*Running with the Bulls:  
My Years with the Hemingways,*  
by Valerie Hemingway  
(Ballantine, 336 pp., \$24.95)

JEFFREY HART

**T**HIS is an important book, a scary close-up of Ernest Hemingway during his final two years. Hemingway experts will find much here—including how *A Moveable Feast* was produced—and the general reader will find the story little short of astonishing. Valerie's doomed marriage with Gregory Hemingway turned dangerous, moved in the direction of murder, and reminds us of the film *Dressed to Kill*, in which a physician dresses as a woman to stalk his prey. Stay tuned.

Born in Dublin, 1940, and educated by nuns, Valerie Danby-Smith wanted to be a journalist, sought wider experience, and managed to arrange an interview with Ernest Hemingway in Madrid during May 1959. He found her simpatica and engaged her as his secretary for that summer. He had a contract with *Life* for a series of articles on the *mano a mano* all over Spain between the two toreros,

Ordóñez and Dominguín, the best of the period. *Life* had asked Hemingway for 10,000 words; alarmingly, Hemingway turned in 120,000, the once superbly disciplined craftsman now apparently unable to staunch the flow of words. Excerpts appeared in *Life* as *The Dangerous Summer*, and about 45,000 words of the bloated manuscript as a posthumous book in 1985.

The Hemingway cavalcade that summer—interrupted for a trip back to his Finca Vigia near Havana—amounted to an all-summer traveling party consisting of his friends, hangers-on, movie stars, and other celebrities coming and going, oceans of booze and seven-course meals, expensive cars and hotels. Valerie rightly sensed something frantic, even sinister about it all. Yet, when Hemingway was absent briefly, she realized how intense his presence had been: “Everything came to life, there was an urgency, a vitality.” Archibald MacLeish once said that Hemingway, like Franklin Roosevelt, exhausted the oxygen in a room. Finally, when the big party ended, Valerie again returned with Hemingway to the Finca Vigia, his Cuban estate. He needed her, he had told Valerie, or else he would commit suicide. He also had been tormented by the belief that his driver was trying to murder him, that the IRS had spies trailing him, that danger lay concealed everywhere.

Back in Cuba, he worked on what became the posthumous 1964 book *A Moveable Feast*. Heretofore, we had been led to think that this book was merely “based” on “notes”—the “Paris sketches”—found in an old suitcase Hemingway recently had retrieved from storage at the Ritz in Paris, there since 1927. But when Hemingway typed at his stand-up desk in Cuba, it seems, he actually was copying the “Paris sketches” more or less intact, then giving his typed copy to Valerie, adding brief revisions as she went along producing smooth copy. The uncontrolled verbosity of his *Life* manuscript is not compatible with the prose of *A Moveable Feast*: It looks as if Hemingway cooked up the

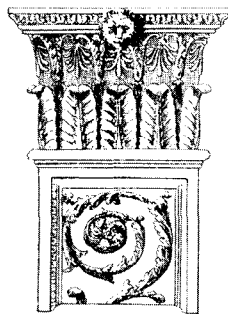
idea that he used only “notes” in order to refute the widespread belief that he had lost his control and the literary power it generated.

During the interval between Cuba and that early morning July 2, 1961, in Ketchum, Idaho, when Hemingway blew his brains out with a shotgun, Valerie worked as a journalist in New York, and for a while as an assistant to Brendan Behan, whose play *The Hostage* was then a Broadway hit. Here, making a cameo appearance, Noel Parmentel shows up, an assistant to Mike Wallace. Parmentel is big-shot-bully disagreeable. He tries to retrieve the erratic Behan for his scheduled interview with Wallace. Valerie, finding Parmentel annoying, fobs him off with Eugene Ionesco, a Romanian absurdist playwright who could barely speak English. (Wallace must have had fun.) Parmentel at the time was also writing execrable wise-guy prose for *NATIONAL REVIEW*, books editor Frank Meyer being prematurely tempted by the popcult fashions of the Sixties.

In the last part of this saga, Valerie marries Hemingway's son Gregory (“Gigi”) Hemingway. Here is where the homicidal-maniac element comes in; I will try to summarize and clarify this bizarre sequence. A physician, Gregory loses his license and pursues various eccentric schemes, all guaranteed to

fail. Increasingly odd, he has a fetish for women's clothes, especially silk stockings. The couple moves from New York to Montana; he becomes moody, impenetrable, soon obviously dangerous. Once, driving their car, with the children aboard, he roars to the icy edge of a canyon and does a 360. Because he always seems

to return to normal, Valerie remains only vaguely aware that he might kill all of them. The women's clothes, the convulsive behavior, all seem to reflect his failing attempts to break through a suffocating self; his family belongs to that loathed self. Valerie and Gregory finally get a long-overdue divorce. He has a sex-change operation, becoming “Gloria.”





# British Isles Cruise

Join NR's 50th Anniversary Sailing July 10-21 on Crystal Cruises' stunning *Symphony* with

**WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR., ROBERT BORK, PAUL JOHNSON, PEGGY NOONAN, JONAH GOLDBERG, MIDGE DECTER  
NORMAN PODHORETZ, RICH LOWRY, KATE O'BEIRNE, JAY NORDLINGER, JOHN O'SULLIVAN and DAVID PRYCE-JONES**  
visiting historic **LONDON, WATERFORD, DUBLIN, BELFAST, EDINBURGH, & ST. PETER PORT**

Join us on the National Review 2005 British Isles Cruise, an exceptional luxury voyage helping mark the 50th anniversary of your favorite conservative magazine. Featuring top conservative celebrities, and a truly spectacular itinerary—London/Dover, Waterford, Dublin, Belfast, Liverpool, Leith/Edinburgh, and St. Peter Port (on the Isle of Guernsey)—this special trip will take place July 10–21, 2005, aboard Crystal Cruises' stunning 5-star *Crystal Symphony*.

If ever there was a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity, this is it! Alongside NR founder **William F. Buckley Jr.** for eleven days of conservative revelry and superior cruising will be **Robert Bork**, the acclaimed jurist and legal scholar; **Peggy Noonan**, author, columnist, and commentator supreme; **Norman Podhoretz** and **Midge Decter**, the authoritative social critics and essayists; **Paul Johnson**, the acclaimed historian; **David Pryce-Jones**, NR Senior Editor and renowned Middle East expert, as well as *National Review* Editor **Rich Lowry**, Washington Editor **Kate O'Beirne**, Managing Editor **Jay Nordlinger**, National Review Online maestro **Jonah Goldberg**, and Editor-at-Large **John O'Sullivan** (now running the very influential quarterly, *The National Interest*).

The National Review 2005 British Isles Cruise launches July 10 from Dover, home of the famous White Cliffs. There you will board the luxurious *Crystal Symphony* and depart for ten full days of unrivaled cruising, visiting the most must-visit ports in Europe.

Ahead lie the beautiful Irish ports of **Waterford, Dublin**, and

**Belfast**, historic **Liverpool** in England, enchanting **Edinburgh** in Scotland—where, as our gift, you will enjoy a free and delightful Highlights of Edinburgh tour (including a sumptuous lunch at a traditional Scottish restaurant)—and charming **St. Peter Port** on Guernsey. The top reason the “typical” NR cruiser sails with us (again and again!) is to attend the seminar sessions featuring our guest speakers and editorial all-stars. On the **National Review 2005 British Isles Cruise**, six scintillating panel sessions are planned: We'll discuss current events, the War on Terror, U.S.-European relations, inside-the-Beltway politics, and so much more. On deck for these lively affairs (where there's always plenty of time for Q & A) are a tremendous cast of knowledgeable, authoritative, and, yes, very entertaining conservatives:

✓ No one provides a more unvarnished look at American jurisprudence than **Robert Bork**. His take on the Supreme Court is second to none!

✓ We're ecstatic that **Norman Podhoretz** and **Midge Decter**—the renowned husband-wife team whose influence on numerous matters is too deep to describe—will be sharing their thoughts on this A+ trip!

✓ The same goes for the revered commentator **Peggy Noonan**, who will be providing her refreshing and thoughtful views on the culture and key American figures.

✓ Esteemed historian **Paul Johnson** offers an unmatched analysis of current events—he sees them in the sweep of centuries and millennia.

✓ **David Pryce-Jones** is an unsurpassed Middle East expert. His take on radical Islam, and its consequences for Western society, is chilling—you must hear it.

✓ And then there is **Bill Buckley**, the founder modern conservatism. Spending eleven glorious days visit-

**GOLDBERG,  
PODHORETZ  
& DECTER  
ON BOARD!**

**ZOUNDS! JUST  
FIVE  
CABINS LEFT!!**

## 11 EXCITING DAYS & NIGHTS ADD UP TO A ONCE-IN-A-LIFETIME EXPERIENCE!

| DAY/DATE      | PORT                | ARRIVE | DEPART  | SPECIAL EVENT                                               |
|---------------|---------------------|--------|---------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| SUN/July 10   | Dover (from London) |        | 6:00 PM |                                                             |
| MON/July 11   | AT SEA              |        |         | morning & afternoon seminars<br>evening cocktail reception  |
| TUES/July 12  | Waterford           | 8:00AM | 6:00PM  |                                                             |
| WED/July 13   | Dublin              | 8:00AM | 6:00PM  | late-night H. Upmann smoker                                 |
| THURS/July 14 | Liverpool           | 7:00AM | 8:00PM  | evening cocktail reception                                  |
| FRI/July 15   | Belfast             | 8:00AM | 10:00PM |                                                             |
| SAT/July 16   | AT SEA              |        |         | morning & afternoon seminars<br>evening cocktail reception  |
| SUN/July 17   | Edinburgh           | 8:00AM |         | overnight                                                   |
| MON/July 18   | Edinburgh           |        | 6:00PM  |                                                             |
| TUES/July 19  | AT SEA              |        |         | morning & afternoon seminars<br>late-night H. Upmann smoker |
| WED/July 20   | St. Peter Port      | 8:00AM | 5:00PM  | evening cocktail reception                                  |
| THURS/July 21 | Dover               | 7:00AM |         |                                                             |

CONDÉ NAST TRAVELER'S DISCRIMINATING READERS VOTE FOR NR AS  
'WORLD'S BEST LARGE-SHIP CRUISE LINE' FOR UNZ.ORG

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ing the British Isles with him and NR's editors—Kate O'Beirne, Rich Lowry, Jay Nordlinger, Jonah Goldberg (it's great he'll be joining us!), and John O'Sullivan—while discussing pressing concerns is the perfect way to celebrate the half-century mark of the brazen fortnightly WFB founded in 1955!

In addition to the seminars, there is all the hoopla and fun and revelry that marks an NR voyage. This trip will feature three wonderful cocktail receptions (always a great opportunity to talk directly with our guest speakers and get a photo or two or ten taken with them), two late-night, pool-side smokers (a world-class H. Upmann cigar, a snifter of cognac, new friends, delightful conversation—this is the life!), and finally, on at least two nights, intimate dining, over a gourmet meal, with our editors and guest speakers!

And then there is the ship, the *Crystal Symphony*—with so many amenities, so much luxury, so many programs and ways to have the best eleven days of your life! That's exactly what you'd expect of Crystal: For the ninth year running it has been voted the "World's Best Large-Ship Cruise Line" by the authoritative readers of *Travel + Leisure* magazine.

The National Review 2005 British Isles Cruise is sure to be one of our best seafaring experiences ever. You must join us as we celebrate NR's 50th anniversary year—with William F. Buckley Jr., Robert Bork, Peggy Noonan, Norman Podhoretz, Midge Decter, Paul Johnson, Kate O'Beirne, David Pryce-Jones, Rich Lowry, Jay Nordlinger, Jonah Goldberg, and John O'Sullivan—traveling to Ireland, Scotland, and some of the most desired spots on the historic British Isles.

With only five cabins remaining available, you'll be shut out if you don't sign up immediately: Call toll-free 1-800-707-1634 to reserve a stateroom, or for more information (or to apply online) visit [www.nrcruise.com](http://www.nrcruise.com).

See you next July on the National Review 2005 British Isles Cruise!

## LUXURIOUS CABINS

For the ninth year in a row, Crystal Cruises has been voted the "World's Best Large-Ship Cruise Line" by the readers of *Travel + Leisure* and *Condé Nast Traveler*! Seasoned travelers call Crystal the best, and praise the superior service, gourmet cuisine, elegant accommodations, and great entertainment that you will experience on the *Symphony*, the floating paradise that will host our voyage. Prices are based on double occupancy, and include port fees, taxes, gratuities, and transfers for those booking airfare through Crystal Cruises, plus all meals, entertainment, and admission to and participation in all NR functions. (Rates for third/fourth person in cabin: for those age 6 months to 11 years, \$1,920; for those 12 years and above, \$3,515.) Early-payment discounts and even additional discounts for Crystal alumni.

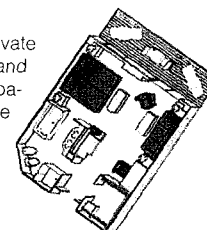
**PENTHOUSE SUITE** Grand stateroom (491 square feet) features large private verandah and spacious living area, personal butler service, remote color TV and VCR, two twin beds convertible to a queen-size bed, full Jacuzzi bathtub, separate shower, bidet, walk-in closet, refrigerator, complimentary wine plus choice of liquor from set menu upon embarkation, complimentary soft drink, beer, and bottled water in cabin. Penthouse Deck.

Category PS

DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 14,799 P/P

SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 27,999

**JUST ONE LEFT!**



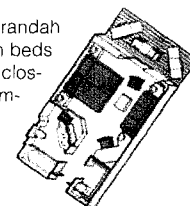
**PENTHOUSE** Spacious stateroom (367 square feet) features large private verandah and sizeable living area, personal butler service, remote color TV/VCR, two twin beds convertible to a queen-size bed, full Jacuzzi bathtub, separate shower, walk-in closet, refrigerator, complimentary wine plus choice of liquor upon embarkation, complimentary soft drink, beer, and bottled water in cabin. Penthouse Deck.

Category PH

DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 11,799 P/P

SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 16,799

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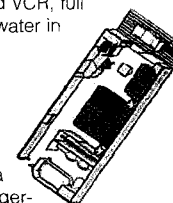


**VERANDAH STATEROOM** Large cabin (246 square feet) features private verandah, seating area, two twin beds convertible to a queen-size bed, remote color TV and VCR, full bathtub/shower combination, refrigerator, complimentary soft drinks and bottled water in cabin. Horizon Deck.

Category B

DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 6,799 P/P

SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 8,999



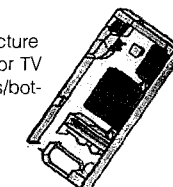
**DELUXE STATEROOM** Comfortable cabin (202 square feet) features large picture window with sweeping views, seating area, two twin beds convertible to a queen-size bed, remote color TV and VCR, full bathtub/shower combination, refrigerator, complimentary soft drinks and bottled water in cabin. Promenade Deck.

Category C

DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 5,799 P/P

SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 6,999

**JUST THREE LEFT!**



**DELUXE STATEROOM** Comfortable cabin (202 square feet) features large picture window, seating area, two twin beds convertible to a queen-size bed, remote color TV and VCR, full bathtub/shower combination, refrigerator, complimentary soft drinks/bottled water in cabin. Window views limited/obstructed. Promenade Deck.

Category E

DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 4,799 P/P

SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: \$ 5,999

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# The National Review 2005 British Isles Cruise Application

Mail to: National Review Cruise, The Cruise Authority, 1307 Powers Ferry Rd., Marietta, GA 30067-5409 or Fax to 770-916-1425

Please fill out application completely and mail with deposit check or fax with credit-card information. One application per cabin. If you want more than one cabin, make copies of this application. For questions call The Cruise Authority at 800-707-1634.

## Personal

|                                           |                 |                    |
|-------------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| Name #1 (full legal name) + informal name | Birthdate       | Shirt Size (S-XXL) |
| Name #1 Citizenship                       | Passport Number | Expiration Date    |
| Name #2 (full legal name) + informal name | Birthdate       | Shirt Size (S-XXL) |
| Name #2 Citizenship                       | Passport Number | Expiration Date    |
| Name #3 (full legal name) + informal name | Birthdate       | Shirt Size (S-XXL) |
| Name #3 Citizenship                       | Passport Number | Expiration Date    |
| Street Mailing Address                    |                 |                    |
| City                                      | State           | ZIP                |
| ( )                                       |                 |                    |
| Daytime Phone                             |                 |                    |
| Email address                             |                 |                    |

## Payment

A deposit of \$2,000 per cabin is due with this application. If paid by credit card, balance will be charged to same card on 4/8/05 unless otherwise directed. If application is received after 8/14/04, the full amount of cruise will be charged. Cabins and categories are available on a first come, first served basis. Suites are limited!

☐ \$2,000 per cabin deposit is included (checks payable to "National Review Cruise")

☐ Charge to: AmEx ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover

Card #

Expiration Date (Month) (Year)

Authorized Signature of Cardholder/Guest

Information and price quote on Cancellation Fee Waiver/Medical Insurance will accompany your statement. Cancellation Penalty Schedule follows (cancellations must be received in writing by the date indicated):

FROM February 8-April 8, 2005, you will be charged \$500 per person.  
AFTER April 8, 2005, the penalty is 100% of cruise/package.

**AIR TRAVEL TO/FROM LONDON:** Crystal Cruise's "Fly Cruise" Program lets you simplify your air travel arrangements, offering convenient and affordable round-trip Coach and Business-Class air transportation (First Class air is available on request; you cannot use frequent flyer points to upgrade these airfares to First Class)—including all baggage and transfers to/from the *Crystal Symphony*—from the following home "gateway" cities (rates are per-person):

| City             | Coach Business | City                 | Coach Business | City               | Coach Business | City               | Coach Business | City              | Coach Business |
|------------------|----------------|----------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Albany, NY       | 1409 3649      | Columbus, OH         | 1029 3829      | Knoxville, TN      | 1029 3829      | Omaha, NE          | 1099 3899      | Spokane, WA       | 1099 4099      |
| Albuquerque, NM  | 1199 4199      | Dallas-Ft. Worth, TX | 1059 3859      | Las Vegas, NV      | 1049 4049      | Orlando, FL        | 1049 3649      | St. Louis, MO     | 999 3799       |
| Amarillo, TX     | 1179 3979      | Denver, CO           | 1149 3949      | Little Rock, AR    | 1149 3949      | Pensacola, FL      | 1159 3759      | Syracuse, NY      | 1049 3649      |
| Anchorage, AK    | 1299 4499      | Des Moines, IA       | 1049 3849      | Los Angeles, CA    | 1049 4049      | Philadelphia, PA   | 979 3579       | Tampa, FL         | 1049 3649      |
| Atlanta, GA      | 1089 3689      | Detroit, MI          | 1109 3909      | Louisville, KY     | 1029 3829      | Phoenix, AZ        | 1139 4139      | Tucson, AZ        | 1109 4109      |
| Austin, TX       | 1109 3909      | El Paso, TX          | 1099 3899      | Lubbock, TX        | 1179 3979      | Pittsburgh, PA     | 979 3579       | Tulsa, OK         | 1099 3899      |
| Baltimore, MD    | 999 3599       | Fresno, CA           | 1109 4109      | McAllen, TX        | 1189 3989      | Portland, OR       | 1039 4039      | Wash. DC (Dulles) | 1039 3639      |
| Billings, MT     | 1119 4119      | Ft. Lauderdale, FL   | 999 3599       | Memphis, TN        | 1099 3899      | Raleigh/Durham, NC | 1029 3629      | W. Palm Beach, FL | 1029 3629      |
| Birmingham, AL   | 1049 3849      | Ft. Myers, FL        | 1049 3649      | Miami, FL          | 1029 3629      | Reno, NV           | 1099 4099      | Wichita, KS       | 1159 3959      |
| Boise, ID        | 1119 4119      | Greensboro, NC       | 1099 3699      | Midland/Odessa, TX | 1189 3989      | Richmond, VA       | 999 3599       |                   |                |
| Boston, MA       | 929 3529       | Greenville-Spar., SC | 1099 3699      | Milwaukee, WI      | 1099 3899      | Rochester, NY      | 1049 3649      |                   |                |
| Bozeman, MT      | 1119 4119      | Hartford, CT         | 1049 3649      | Minn./St. Paul, MN | 1039 3839      | Sacramento, CA     | 1149 4149      |                   |                |
| Buffalo, NY      | 1029 3629      | Honolulu, HI         | 1449 4649      | Mobile, AL         | 1119 3919      | Salt Lake City, UT | 1029 4029      |                   |                |
| Charleston, SC   | 1029 3629      | Houston, TX          | 1059 3859      | Nashville, TN      | 1099 3899      | San Antonio, TX    | 1149 3949      |                   |                |
| Charlotte, NC    | 1029 3629      | Huntsville, AL       | 1059 3859      | New Orleans, LA    | 999 3799       | San Diego, CA      | 1029 4029      |                   |                |
| Chicago, IL      | 1059 3859      | Indianapolis, IN     | 1079 3879      | New York, NY (JFK) | 879 3479       | San Francisco, CA  | 1099 4099      |                   |                |
| Cincinnati, OH   | 989 3789       | Jackson, MS          | 1199 3999      | Newark, NJ         | 879 3479       | Savannah, GA       | 1029 3629      |                   |                |
| Cleveland, OH    | 1029 3829      | Jacksonville, FL     | 1059 3659      | Norfolk, VA        | 1029 3629      | Seattle/Tacoma, WA | 1139 4139      |                   |                |
| Col. Springs, CO | 1119 3999      | Kansas City, MO      | 1049 3849      | Oklahoma City, OK  | 1099 3899      | Shreveport, LA     | 1139 3939      |                   |                |

**IMPORTANT NOTES:** 1. These air add-ons apply to the cruise or cruise + pre- or post-cruise package. All transfers for air/sea passengers are included. 2. All U.S. and Canadian flights will depart on July 9, 2005 for an overnight flight. 3. Business Class air applies only to the trans-Atlantic leg of the trip. Domestic legs will be coach class. 4. Should you elect to provide your own air transportation, note that the transfer from the London area airports (Gatwick or Heathrow) or Victoria Station to the *Crystal Symphony* (Dover, England) are not included, but are available for purchase at \$75 pp. Note that it is approximately a 2.5 hour transfer from the airports or Victoria Station to the *Crystal Symphony* in Dover. Return flights from London should not be arranged before 2:00PM on July 21, 2005. Return flights from the ship to airports or hotel may be purchased on board at \$75 pp. 5. Should you purchase the air from Crystal Cruise as described above, and wish to deviate from the air schedule designated by Crystal Cruises, there is no charge for changes made prior to April 8, 2005. After that date, a non-refundable charge of \$50 pp will be incurred for this service. All requests for air deviations must be made in writing to The Cruise Authority. 6. Every effort will be made to assign the best seating possible, however any special seat assignments or other requests must be made directly with the participating air carrier. You will receive your air schedule approximately 30 days prior to departure.

## Cruise

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But he remains trapped. In 1998 Valerie hears that he has been arrested for “indecent behavior”: walking nude down a street with a bag full of women’s clothing. Even as a “woman,” apparently, he was not yet free, and had to be naked. In a women’s prison he dies of a heart attack. It seems that Ernest had been aware of Gregory’s oddity even as a boy, and his name had been unmentionable. One question, of course, is why Hemingway had not sought psychological help for his son instead of treating him as a pariah. We know from elsewhere that Hemingway distrusted, perhaps feared, psychoanalysis.

Valerie hints at, but does not quite say, what I think to be the correct interpretation of Ernest Hemingway’s own long slide from genius into depression, madness, and finally suicide. Before 1925, he had worked hard to fashion a new style. During the Twenties he wrote only 500 words a day with exquisite care, a prose unique in the English language. It was a concentrated prose, highly suggestive, holding firmly to fact, his word edges expressively sharp. Around and beneath the edges of this prose there stirred much more, the presence of ramifying depths, seven-eighths of the meaning, as he said, out of sight below. Edmund Wilson wrote in 1925 that this prose “cast a limpid shaft into deep waters.” Notably, in one of his earliest stories, “Indian Camp,” the subject—out in plain view—is suicide. Throughout his greatest fiction, during those years, the subject is nothingness, fear, death, *nada*. In his fiction he prescribes for himself and his heroes the temporary relief of the “good place”: in the woods, waist-deep and fishing, the perfect fly-cast; the perfect martini, the perfect swim, the perfect café, perfect love. One paradigm for all this is the corrida, with the torero the artist, sighting along the sword’s edge, the charging bull now seen as It, whatever It is, but killed

**In his fiction, Hemingway prescribes the temporary relief of the ‘good place’: in the woods, waist-deep and fishing, the perfect fly-cast; the perfect martini, the perfect swim, the perfect café, perfect love.**

with the perfect thrust (that is, the perfect sentence). Another paradigm is Catherine Barkley, heroine of *A Farewell to Arms* (1929), who knows how to die, with understated bravery. She too has the perfect style: “Catherine winked at me, her face gray. . . ‘I’m not a bit afraid. It’s just a dirty trick.’” She has inherited that style from her fiancé, a British officer blown to bits at the Somme. This style is military, reminiscent of Kipling. It is not the enemy soldier, though, but *nada* itself that is the real enemy. Catherine, an exemplar? Feminists, re-read Hemingway.

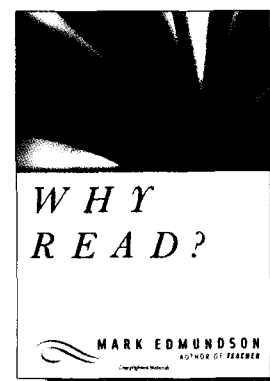
During the Thirties, as Hemingway becomes verbose (of all things), as if enjoying the sound of his own voice, we see the big-game hunter, ocean fisherman, celebrity, his friends movie stars now, not writers and painters. Edmund Wilson noted a photo showing Hemingway, rifle in hand, with his foot on a dead African kudu, and remarked that the real victim there was not the animal. Wilson also said that Hemingway had become his own worst invented character.

By the Fifties his manuscripts suffered from gigantism, unpublishable as they stood. His prose, once a great achievement, may well have exerted too much tension to be sustained, but it had been his mode of inner control, at once device and reflection. The Hemingway Valerie met in Madrid that May in 1959 was a desperate man. Something very dark had haunted him since “Indian Camp” in 1925. Toward the end, by 1960, he knew there was no way out. The shotgun

provided a period, and the discipline of silence. As Wordsworth wrote, “We poets in our youth begin in gladness; / But thereof come in the end despondency and madness.”

Valerie Hemingway did find experience, I’ll say; and she did become a writer, a very good one. Sane to the end, like Horatio amid the madness of Elsinore, she lives on to tell the Prince’s story, with corpses all over the stage. **NR**

# Knowledge & Delight



*Why Read?*,  
by Mark Edmundson  
(Bloomsbury, 224 pp., \$21.95)

TRACY LEE SIMMONS

**‘T**HE true province of poetry,” Thomas Jefferson once intoned, is “knowledge of the human heart,” and he believed that bookish knowledge of this kind was worth having at almost any price. It civilized us. Such was the faith, at once wildly optimistic and muscularly ambitious, behind the high and humane learning of the Founders. That mere ideology, not to mention policy-wonking, failed to add up to anything resembling a citizen’s education went without saying. Now Mark Edmundson, a professor of English at what Jefferson called his “academical village” at the University of Virginia, casts his lot with the great man. Why should we read? We should read, Edmundson tells us in his tight little treatise, to change our lives, to become better than what we’d be without reading. Mr. Jefferson would surely agree.

The book’s eponymous question poses itself urgently because Edmundson sees the habit of serious reading imperiled among today’s college students—many of them lulled into slumber by con-

**Mr. Simmons is the author of *Climbing Parnassus: A New Apologia for Greek and Latin* and director of the Dow Journalism Program at Hillsdale College.**

## books, arts & manners

sumerist potions and swayed by the ubiquity of education-as-entertainment, which has had them convinced unawares since *Sesame Street* that the classroom is the proper place of choice and fun, not of hard, intractable work and intellectual challenge. Forces are conspiring to make us stupid and shallow, pawns in the hands of politicians and plutocrats, rendering us unable to think or feel deeply. Nowadays, the thinking goes, we go to school not to change but to calcify in our tracks, not to become what we might be but what the economy needs us to be.

To some this critique of academia is a tired one, but we mustn't forget that it has enjoyed devotees across the political rainbow. Many cultural conservatives would defend the thesis. And why not? The house of intellect is always battered by strong prevailing winds, and Edmundson makes a straightforward case for rededicating ourselves to a sturdy, steadying humanities curriculum and to a higher view of education as a path to personal upgrade through the strengthening of the mind and elevating of the heart. Literature is, he says, "the major cultural source of vital options for those who find that their lives fall short of their highest hopes."

A mite extravagant perhaps, but well put. Books can save. It's the old humanistic ideal, and it gives hope. When we look to our forebears, we see that it's supported by experience. Jefferson kept the faith. So of course we ought to find this ideal standing proudly in all colleges and universities whose glossy brochures are stocked with pretensions to liberal learning. We don't. What we find in most of

them is something else and something less, and often obscenely less. We risk no scandal by admitting this. Everyone who thinks—if not everyone with a college degree—knows it.

Books can indeed change our lives for the better, and Edmundson is, to use a word he might not appreciate, an able evangelist for this secular faith. Edmundson speaks eloquently of his own conversion to books and ideas as a young man growing up in a blue-collar Massachusetts town. "Reading woke me up," he says. "It took me from a world of harsh limits into expanded possibility." It helped to provide him with what he calls a "significant life," issuing a passport to a larger universe. Anyone who has similarly discovered wider horizons in literature will know what he means. Thus can a rich inner life be achieved, an independent life sustained; thus can we find comfort in solitude.

The best way to achieve this more significant life comes via what Edmundson calls a "literary education," a pregnant term that once pointed to a thorough training in ancient and modern languages but now means simply a more or less systematic reading of what one particular teacher deigns to call "great books." Most of them are standards: Homer, Shakespeare & Co. These Edmundson finds both useful and relevant, and—in an age of diminished curricula—this isn't a course to dismiss.

Edmundson makes a brief yet potent critique of the quality of the intellectual commitment of today's humanities professors, whose practice has become one massive exercise in missing the point. The radiant idiocies and false turnings of postmodern literary theory take a nice drubbing; unlike the literature it purports to illuminate, theory cannot be lived, and at its worst serves to exalt itself at the expense of the imaginative work. The purpose of the greatest literature is, as Edmundson says, human transformation, not to provide occasions for the glib smirking of cynical showoffs. He's in top form when reminding us that the best teachers will always find ways to put students back in touch with their essential ignorance, which the "culture of cool" temporarily—but only temporarily—obliterates.

Yet not everyone will abide his method. Much of the book is addressed to

teachers, who stand uniquely placed to open those windows to wider experience. But it's also directed toward students, who are sincerely invited to "supplant" their teachers and professors if they're not offered the stiff elixir Edmundson favors. He has broad if idiosyncratic designs. He likes his books with a kick. We can read to improve; we can read to enjoy. But we can also read to blow our minds, and this purpose (lingo inclusive) seems to be what Edmundson has in mind. In brief, the logic can be made to run thus: Read good stuff, get challenged, and explode all the assumptions with which you've been fitted by culture, prejudice, and laziness. No doubt many people could use a sharp, spirited knock on the noggin but, as intentions go, it does seem somewhat laborious and, despite the promised excitement and transformation, strangely joyless.

The ideal citizen produced thereby would seem the subversive individualist, a brooding or smirking smartass, one ready to flip the finger at the Establishment and armed with a license to befoul the world he has inherited. Edmundson's plan will represent to many a reading-as-castor-oil approach. Lost easily in this kind of reflexively genial agitation can be a nourishing reading-for-knowledge, not to mention reading-for-delight. The good professor seems to say that literature is valuable mainly to the extent that it disturbs, a view with corollaries for teachers: Literature is Confrontation. *Perturbo ergo sum.*

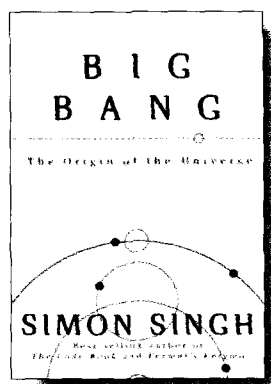
After putting down this little book, one feels almost guilty for preferring to while away an afternoon with an old familiar book, to enjoy it instead of being shaken up by it, and then to find the image in the mirror unchanged. We applaud his best points, but sometimes his face is a little too long, his belief in literature as a replacement for religion a bit too thin and naive. Edmundson is, at bottom, a visitor from the Sixties, bedecked in fine array with a few therapeutic clichés of the brand that earns people tenure and the esteem of militant vegetarians. One can agree with almost everything he says about the neglect of the intellectual life in the very places in which it should flourish. All the more reason why we could do with fewer "expanded consciousnesses" and more sharpened, perceptive, knowledgeable ones. **NR**



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# When Theories Collide



*Big Bang: The Origin of the Universe*, by Simon Singh  
(Fourth Estate, 544 pp., \$27.95)

JOHN DERBYSHIRE

**I**HAD better declare an interest right away. Simon Singh is the British author of the 1997 book *Fermat's Last Theorem*, after the publication of which the phrase "math best-seller" was no longer an oxymoron. He thus opened up for lesser drudges the opportunity to actually make some money by writing popular books about mathematics, an opportunity I myself have seized upon gratefully. In spite of some minor issues I had with the Fermat book, I am therefore well disposed towards Singh, and picked up his latest production determined to give it the benefit of any possible doubt.

In the event, I don't think there is much doubt. *Big Bang* is a thoroughly excellent popular history of scientific cosmology, most of it dealing with the 20th century, which is when most of the important developments in this field occurred. It is written in a plain narrative style, with a minimum of difficult math, and two neat pages of summary notes at the end of each of the five main chapters. There are lively character sketches of the principal players, and

some amusing anecdotes; but the author's main aim is to tell us how we reached the present state of fair consensus (there is rarely a *total* consensus on large scientific theories) about the structure and history of the universe at large.

As well as the particular story he has to tell, Singh gives some fine, illuminating descriptions of what happens when theories collide. Three times in the history of this topic it has been the case that two competing theories, each of roughly equal plausibility, have contended for supremacy. In showing how, in each case, the better theory won, Singh gives the general reader a valuable lesson in the progress of scientific inquiry, in the nature of scientific method and the means by which controversies in science are resolved. A great deal of nonsense is talked and written about this, particularly by anti-evolution propagandists. Singh's account shows plainly that the generality of scientists are neither passionless Mister Spocks, weighing evidence with cold, flawless objectivity, nor grim upholders of a pseudo-religious dogma determined to defend crumbling theories to the last ditch. They are human beings, equipped with the usual proportions of weaknesses and prejudices, reluctant to let go of the convictions of a lifetime, but usually willing to do so when faced with convincing evidence.

The three sets of colliding theory-pairs were:

Our Solar System—geocentric or heliocentric? (Earliest times to ca. A.D. 1700.)

The nebulae—inside or outside our galaxy? (Ca. 1800 to 1924.)

Cosmic history—static or dynamic? (1949 to 1992.)

In each case there were strong arguments on both sides. Indeed, in each case there were periods when the theory that ultimately proved better was in a weaker evidentiary position.

The case of the nebulae illustrates the point. By the middle of the 19th century astronomers knew that all the stars we can see belonged to a single vast disk some tens of thousands of trillions of miles thick and about ten times that in

diameter. But what were these faint smudges of light that could be seen everywhere? Were they inside the disk, or outside it? There was good evidence on both sides. The U.S. National Academy of Sciences hosted a great debate on the topic in 1920 between Harlow Shapley, for the "insiders," and Heber Curtis, for the "outsiders." Shapley got slightly the better of the argument. Then, just three years later, Edwin Hubble published his results on Cepheid variables, proving that the nebulae are extra-galactic. When Hubble told Shapley of his findings in a preliminary note, Shapley said: "Here is the letter that has destroyed my universe."

The resolution of the cosmic-history issue was tougher sledding, partly because of the extreme difficulty of gathering decisive evidence, partly because of the strong personalities involved. Was the large-scale structure of the universe the same in the remote past as it is today? Will it be the same in the remote future? Or is the whole shebang evolving from one state to another? Albert Einstein, whose opinion carried a very great deal of weight, preferred a static universe, on conventional and aesthetic grounds, and against his own mathematical instincts. (Expressed in the equations of General Relativity,

a static universe is actually less mathematically elegant than a dynamic one.)

Among those on the other side of the argument was Fr. Georges Lemaître, a Roman Catholic priest from Belgium—the only man of the cloth to make major contributions to cosmology in modern times. "Your calculations are correct, but your physics is abominable," said

Einstein to Lemaître at the 1927 Solvay conference. Einstein was wrong, and had to eat crow at last, six years later. With the gentlemanly humility of a true scientist, he said of Lemaître's expanding-universe theory: "This is the most beautiful and satisfactory explanation of creation to which I have ever listened." So much for last-ditch dogmatism on evidentiary matters among the great men of science. Or among great men of religion, for that matter, of whom Lemaître must surely be account-

***Big Bang* is a thoroughly excellent popular history of scientific cosmology.**

ed one. (Lemaître kept his physics and his religion separate, declaring that his religious beliefs certainly did not motivate his cosmology. "Hundreds of professional and amateur scientists actually believe the Bible pretends to teach science," he said. "This is a good deal like assuming there must be authentic religious dogma in the binomial theorem.")

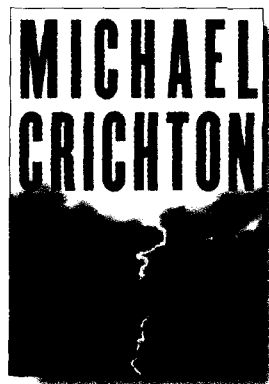
An exception to this general rule showed up after World War II in the person of Fred Hoyle, a flamboyant and eccentric British cosmologist who, with Thomas Gold and Hermann Bondi, launched the Steady State theory of cosmic history on an unsuspecting world in 1949. Steady State was an ingenious explanation for the recession of the galaxies (an observational fact already beyond dispute) by postulating the continuous creation of matter *ex nihilo* at a constant rate everywhere, this matter clumping into new galaxies to keep the overall appearance of the universe constant across time.

It was a very attractive theory, conforming to the few observational facts then available. A poll of 33 astronomers in 1959 showed 11 for the Big Bang, 8 for Steady State, and 14 undecided. As observations were refined across the following decades, it became clear that Big Bang was the better theory. Hoyle, however, went to his grave (in 2001) clinging to a modified version of Steady State. Paradoxically, his most lasting impression on cosmology was his coining of the phrase "Big Bang" in a 1950 radio broadcast.

There are many more good stories in this book, which I recommend without reservation to any lay person wishing to acquaint himself with the history of cosmology, or for that matter with the history of creation. There are puzzles still to be solved and gaps yet to be filled, but the version of Big Bang currently dominant is a very good theory indeed. There is much we still do not know; but it is a testament to the power of the human intellect, and to the unquenchable curiosity of the rational mind, that we know as much as we do about this most astounding of all subjects: the structure, history, and future prospects of the universe at large.

NR

## Global Warning



*State of Fear*,  
by Michael Crichton  
(HarperCollins, 603 pp., \$27.95)

ANDREW STUTTAFORD

**I**F you want to see what an apoplectic fit looks like in print, check out Michiko Kakutani's review/denunciation in the *New York Times* of *State of Fear*, the latest book from Michael Crichton. Crichton is the author of *Jurassic Park*, *Disclosure*, *The Andromeda Strain*, and much more (or, in the case of *Prey*, less); in *State of Fear* he dares to challenge the numbskull pieties of "global warming" and that has made Michiko very mad indeed. *State of Fear* is, she writes, "shrill," "preposterous," and, horror of horrors, "right-wing." So many angry, foam-flecked adjectives jostle for attention in the text of Kakutani's padded-cell philippic (I'd use the words "shrill" and "preposterous," but she got there first) that the fastidious will want to mop the page for spittle before reading.

Crichton's book is, she sneers, "ham-handed"; the plot of this "sorry excuse for a thriller" is "ludicrous," its disquisitions "talky," its facts "cherry-picked," its assertions "dogmatic," and its efforts to make a case "lumbering." Still, at least she spared Crichton contemporary culture's most fashionable insult, that irrev-

Mr. Stuttaford is a contributing editor of National Review Online.

ocably staining mark of Cain, that deepest red of all scarlet letters, that *other* N-word. The *Los Angeles Times* does not; according to its reviewer, Crichton has written "the first neo-con novel." Ouch.

At this point, wiser, calmer readers will suspect that a book that attracts that sort of condemnation in the pages of the *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times* (reassuringly, *The New Yorker* didn't like it either) must be really, really good. The wiser, calmer readers will be right. It is.

Crichton has, unsurprisingly, chosen to incorporate his message into the medium he knows best, the thriller, but what is surprising is that this latest effort is packed with graphs, scientific discussion, footnotes, a manifesto, and an extensive bibliography: not usually the stuff of popular fiction. And, remarkably, the whole package—all 600 pages of it—succeeds. *State of Fear* is a good, solid, exciting read, and if the writing is occasionally wooden, it is so in the finest, somewhat flat tradition of Ludlum, Turov, and the other bards of the airport bookstore.

*State of Fear* is a didactic work, but its author has not neglected the conventions of his genre: Men are men, women are hot (it's the planet that's not), and deaths are excruciating. Bullets fly, cars crash, poisonous octopi do their worst, hideous catastrophe looms, and, the last surviving fans of the late H. Rider Haggard will be delighted to know, cannibals make an appearance. Cannibals! And not effete Lecters either, but real honest-to-goodness, traditional missionary-in-the-pot anthropophagi, who know that fresh flesh needs neither sips of Chianti nor fava-bean frippery to make it something truly tasty.

But all those daunting graphs and lurking footnotes are a reminder that, populist format or not, Crichton is making a serious point about the dead and dangerous end that modern "environmentalism" has reached. In the hands of contemporary Greens, it no longer has much to do with brains, or, at least, reason. Protecting our planet has, he argues, degenerated into a religion—a matter of faith, not science.

The frenzied response to *State of Fear* proves his point. Crichton's arguments have not been treated as a contribution to a legitimate debate, but as blasphemy.

Yet if this is an urgent, insistent, sometimes overstated book, it's because Crichton cares so much about the environment, not so little. Who with any brains does not?

Yes, Crichton raises the rhetorical stakes very high, but the real stakes are even higher. If the prescriptions of the Kyoto Treaty are followed, the cost could run into hundreds of billions of dollars a year, a cost that, if history is any indication, will be disproportionately borne by the world's poor. Under the circumstances, the science that backs it had better be rock solid. Crichton argues that it is not.

To take just a sample of the intriguing data that turn up in this book, the melting of Antarctica is confined to just one relatively small peninsula. The continent as a whole is getting colder, its ice thicker. At the other end of the planet, Greenland too is chilling up, while here at home, the temperature in the United States is roughly where it was in the 1930s, there has been no increase in extreme weather, and changes in upper-atmospheric temperature have been far smaller than most global-warming models would suggest.

Those are some cherries, Ms. Kakutani.

In her disdain for inconvenient, ornery facts, however, Kakutani is sadly typical. While there are those in the Kyoto crowd who have genuine, and carefully thought-through, scientific concern about the fate of the Earth, the motivation of the many who shout so loudly and so dogmatically about the perils of global warming frequently owes less to logic than to neurosis, misplaced religious faith, and, often, the characteristic dishonesty of a Left looking for yet another stick with which to beat both Western civilization and those wicked, dirty capitalists.

And then there's something else: greed. One of the more entertaining aspects of Crichton's tale is that the clever, conniving, white-collar villains, regular thriller fare of course, are not the standard corporate swine. No, in this book they are environmentalists acting from exactly the sort of motives more usually attributed to the bad boys from the boardroom than to the saints from the NGOs. In *State of Fear*, the Gekkos are

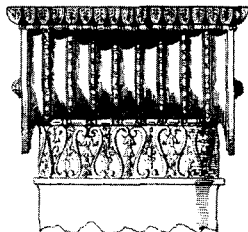
Green. They are caricatures, but Crichton is making a fair point: Big Environment is a big, big business, "a great fundraising and media machine—a multi-billion industry in its own right—with its own private agenda that's not necessarily in the public interest," and like any big business it comes complete with temptations, timeservers, fat paychecks, fatter payrolls, and a legion of lawyers trying to make a fast buck.

This combination of false gods and real mammon has replaced the hard science of global warming with scaremongering, publicity stunts (both have a key part to play in *State of Fear*), and relentless pressure, political and otherwise, to sign up for the new orthodoxy. The problem for its believers, however, is that it's an orthodoxy that the facts do not support. In reality, the facts, such as they are, do not support *any* orthodoxy. There aren't enough of them, and those that exist often appear to contradict one another. The hard science of global warming is, as Crichton explains, well, hard; the data are far from reliable, and there are so many variables that, even for today's computers, the value of most climate-prediction models lies somewhere between a bookie's tip and a crystal ball.

Crichton has his own theories as to what is going on (very roughly: mild warming, possibly purely natural, perhaps associated with the heat islands of urban development, or maybe both), but he is at pains to describe these as guesses, a humility that would be equally welcome among those who would base their highly interventionist environmental policy on little more than hysteria and a hunch—something, I suspect, that helps explain their reluctance to see their version of the truth subjected to serious intellectual criticism.

For matters to improve, Joe Friday science, freed from agendas, has to return to the center of the investigation of global warming. How mankind responds to those facts, once discovered, is a legitimate topic for political controversy and debate. Trying to establish what they are should not be. If Michael Crichton can push thinking even a little way in this direction, he will have written a very good book indeed.

NR



# LEGACY

WHAT WILL YOURS BE?

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# Dutch Boy Paints



*De Kooning:  
An American Master,*  
by Mark Stevens and Annalyn Swan  
(Knopf, 752 pp., \$35)

JAMES PANERO

**T**HE American painter Willem de Kooning escaped Marx only to be done in by Freud. De Kooning enjoyed little time—perhaps only a few years in the late 1940s—between the maturation of a personal style, free of Depression-era politics (“We divorced politics from our art, although we were political,” he once said), and his leveling by drink and fame. “I saw Jackson in his grave,” he proclaimed at Jackson Pollock’s funeral. “And he’s dead. It’s over. I’m number one.” That was in 1956. He was already in decline.

It is hard to feel sorry for de Kooning. Add up the mistresses, abortions, and outbursts, and “Bill” comes off as The Great Cad. This is perhaps the lasting value of a new biography by Mark Stevens and Annalyn Swan, art critics for *New York* magazine and *Newsweek*, respectively, who chronicle de Kooning’s dalliances in excessive detail. For money and women, de Kooning immigrated from Holland to New York stowed away in a ship’s boiler room; and he never

**Mr. Panero is the associate editor of *The New Criterion*.**

seemed to care for much more. Once he had acquired both, in the 1960s, his art lost its snap of urgency. De Kooning was a product of his age, and he inhabited his time and place with little apparent self-awareness. Critics like Harold Rosenberg praised him for the same reasons that drove him to excess. De Kooning was hailed as an id with a paintbrush; for a few moments this id was the darling of the art world, for which fame he is now best remembered, more than for his achievements on canvas.

But the life of de Kooning now seems somehow less interesting than the life around de Kooning, so thoroughly documented by Stevens and Swan: poverty in Rotterdam, his tyrannical mother, the Dutch academies, modernism in ’40s New York; the art of Arshile Gorky, Stuart Davis, and John Graham (early influences); and the selling of American art in the 1950s and 1960s.

De Kooning’s childhood reads as though it were tailor-made for movies; Stevens and Swan write with a cinematic eye, if not a critical one. Painting for de Kooning began not as a means of expression but as an escape from it. The art world in Holland provided him with academic discipline and a retreat from home life. The authors quote appropriately one of T. S. Eliot’s comments about poetry, one that could apply equally to de Kooning’s first encounters with art: “Poetry is not a turning loose of emotion, but an escape from emotion; it is not the expression of personality, but an escape from personality. But, of course, only those who have personality and emotions know what it means to want to escape from these things.”

De Kooning took refuge in the labors of art. He found early work in Dutch department stores and in commercial design. The style then in vogue was *Nieuwe Kunst*—the Dutch version of Art Nouveau. One of the revelations of this biography is how the sensuous surfaces of Art Nouveau, not to mention its commercial applications and faith in “art for art’s sake,” fundamentally affected de Kooning’s art throughout his career. It saved him from the political pitfalls of the 1930s, certainly. (The like-minded Gorky put it best: “Proletariat art is poor art for poor people.”) Art Nouveau also distanced de Kooning from the more spiritual painters of the New York

School—Mark Rothko and Adolph Gottlieb, for example, who drew on the Symbolist traditions of 19th-century art. While they looked for depth in abstraction, de Kooning attacked his surfaces, obsessively.

“His unashamed celebration of painterly richness,” write Stevens and Swan, “especially the whipped-up surfaces and strange pastel tonalities in his art, may stem partly from the hothouse cultivations of the time.” Undoubtedly Art Nouveau led to *Painting* (1948), de Kooning’s great early achievement, now in the Museum of Modern Art, New York. This painting’s ominous squiggles marching out of the picture plane “confounded the systematic, rational construction of space,” writes one

## A GRAVE POEM FOR A GIFT

You gave me an elephant,  
an antique carved in ivory,  
a sign, beautifully tiny,  
of all we wished it meant.

I could wish it would grow beneath us  
and lift us into the air.  
On his wide back, we could soar  
to the warmest Africas

and let him run or walk  
through all love’s steamy thickets  
until snow fell in the tropics  
or we broke his humping back.

But O such heartless giving  
if on one ivory key  
I should try and pluck someday  
the whole tune of our loving.

My memory, out of tune,  
unlike an elephant’s,  
would sorrowfully note what once  
was real is dead and gone,

as everything I love  
goes, as an elephant dies,  
although we know it has  
some hidden, priceless grave.

—MICHAEL CREAGAN

art historian, in a way that went beyond Cubism. *Painting* was de Kooning's breakthrough, and an appropriately titled one.

By mid-century, de Kooning had turned not only to the figure but also to autobiography; specifically, to his obsession with sex. He combined the techniques developed in *Painting* with the diabolical image of a woman—some say of his wife Elaine. *Woman I* (1950-1952), and the whole series of *Women* paintings from the period, became de Kooning's signature work. *Woman I*, alone, took two years to complete.

As novel as these paintings might have been—some critics believe they were less persuasive than *Painting*—indulgence was beginning to spoil de Kooning's freshness. "*Woman I* still appears eternally out of place," write Stevens and Swan, "homeless among the masterpieces at the Museum of Modern Art. *Woman I* is personally, socially, culturally, and artistically fraught with uncertainty." Harold Rosenberg, a natural salesman who had developed such icons as "Smokey the Bear" for the Advertising Council, turned de Kooning's obsession over the *Women* paintings into art-world mythology. If "what was to go on the canvas was not a picture but an event," as Rosenberg famously pronounced, then de Kooning was producing quite a show.

It was bad advice. Expressionism for its own sake, which ran counter to Eliot's admonition for "an escape from emotion," soon overtook de Kooning's art and life to the point of farce. Stevens and Swan write that he "appeared to be a textbook case for Freudian analysis, so fashionable at the time. Not only was he often blocked and subject to anxiety attacks, but all the world seemed to know that he had titanic problems with his mother." While Elaine stood by, de Kooning ran through one young woman after another; when he was not sleeping around, he was often drunk and abusive. He was art's number one for a short time, but he fast became the end of something and not the beginning: the end of sexed-up abstraction, the end of expressionism, the end of the New York School, the end of the id. The art world slowly turned against him. De Kooning devised his dream house and made plans to move to The Springs—Pollock's old town near

the Hamptons—which he eventually did.

De Kooning outlasted almost everyone, dying in his studio on March 19, 1997, after more than a decade of "Alzheimer's-like dementia," during which he had continued to paint with the aid of assistants (not to mention Elaine, his dealers, and his lawyer). As he slowly cleared his late canvases of expression, he returned to where he had started—to Art Nouveau. But his achievements after the mid-1950s were minor. Reflecting on Gorky, Kline, Pollock, Rothko, and the other painters of his generation who died in their prime, one wonders whether de Kooning's reputation would have better survived had he not. My guess is no. As he became Abstract Expressionism's Living Master, and a profitable one producing salon work, he was able to cement a reputation he never fully deserved.

Stevens and Swan make few distinctions between good and bad de Kooning.

In compiling this document of facts, the writers have abdicated to others their responsibilities as critics, and the book suffers for it. Their writing wisely avoids the jargon of theory, but too often lapses into such groaners as the following:

"The unsettling power of the pictures—and their originality—lay in their way of mimicking the sexual act itself. It almost seemed as if the artist were *screwing* the women rather than painting them."

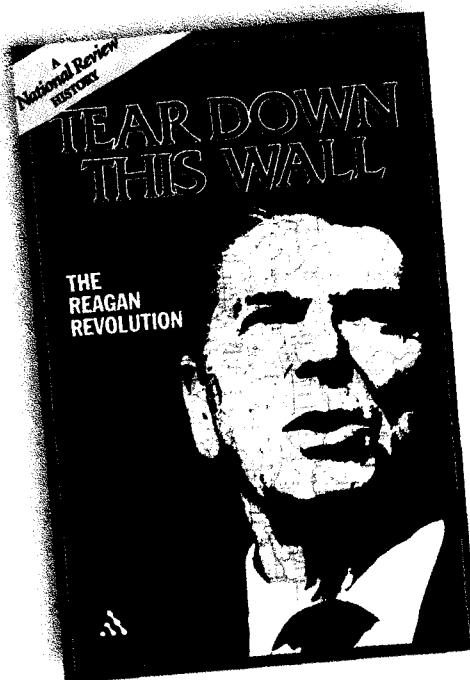
What finally makes the book worthwhile is the mass of detail the authors have dug up about de Kooning's work, especially concerning his "cuisine of art." His

selection of paint—for example, his "novel use of sunflower oil, water, and benzene"—distinguished de Kooning as a painter's painter. His talent was not for life but for canvas; if only he could have better distinguished between the two, he might have truly become an "American Master."

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**Expressionism  
for its own  
sake soon  
overtook de  
Kooning's art  
and life to  
the point of  
farce.**

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# Joined at The Hip



RICHARD BROOKHISER

**F**IRST, make sure both you and your spouse work at home. You must have maximum daytime flexibility, and you must appear together—your success depends on your identity as a team. Second, go regularly to some place where young people work. You have to see them often; meeting them in passing is no good. Restaurants and coffee houses, which require friendly, scantily paid staffs, seem to be ideal. Finally, you must have been born no later than the Johnson/Goldwater election. If the gap in age between you and the young people is less than twenty years, you lack a vital traffic barrier. Now you're ready to be hip parents.

It's so much easier than being parents. That involves intercourse, pregnancy, teething, measles, homework, sports, and dating, plus college educations that are the cost of a fleet of new cars, unless they join the Marines or the circus. Hip parents can parachute directly into the age when the young person is socialized, and as attractive as most of us ever get, while being spared all expenses, which the real parents have considerably provided.

Hip parents can help with life's little problems, which seem so large. No one despairs like the young. One Halloween the staff at one of our hangouts came to their day shifts in costume. Our waitress, tall and shapely, was wearing a fur bikini, to show that she was a cave-woman, her paleo-anthropology text being *One Million Years B.C.* What a menu she

made. Yet she was distressed by her feet; she had hoped, but failed, to make fur anklets, and was instead wearing black clodhoppers. We assured her that no one would look at her feet. Sometimes hip parents can help with more serious quandaries. The same young woman spent one New Year's Eve alone, because her boyfriend had gone to Italy. Indignation. To see his old girlfriend, she added. Time for a new boyfriend. But, she superadded, with the lack of confidence that can hollow out the beautiful, it didn't matter, because the old girlfriend was a dyke. Oh yes, darling, it matters.

Life can be so damaged, even at 21, that often there is nothing to do but listen. A waiter and a waitress got married. It must have seemed like a good idea at the time. They were good-looking; they were of different races, the gold star, the condiment, the icing on the cake of young New York relationships; they were young. But, it turned out, they were too young to take such a serious step. They split, but not before having taken another: They had become parents, real ones. After divorcing, however, they decided to raise the child together. We learned all this in bulletins, over a drink tray, running into each other on the street, seeing the husband in a new incarnation as a maitre d' at some other place. Man hands on misery to man, and yet they were trying to do the right thing, which, time not being reversible, is all you can do after doing wrong things.

In modern New York hip parenthood sometimes intersects with issues of national import. Another maitre d' we know is from the Dominican Republic. He is not rich enough to give money to presidential campaigns, but he is rich enough in conviction to give time. In 1996 and 2000 he worked the phones for Clinton and Gore. On 9/11, he walked downtown, trying to give blood, paw through rubble, do something. He sees himself, with reason, as an epitome of everything jihadists hate. He has an Estonian wife (only one). He wants to better himself, not blow himself up. He endorses, and profits from, the pluralism and opportunities of *el Norte*. Over the last year he rooted for Howard, Bush, and Iraqi voters. Our good-night shout,

over the thundering bar track, is, "Death to our enemies."

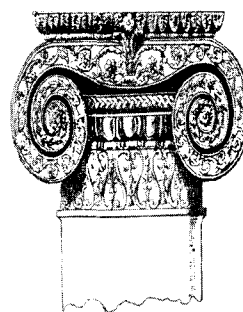
The material for hip parenthood lies as thick on the streets of New York as pigeons. The city is full of young people who have come here to be geniuses, sibyls, bacchantes; if most of them get no further than being college students, their hopes still sparkle in the glass of the city like carbonation. Auditioning for the hip parents' role are the couples in the midst of careers that have amounted to something; only time will tell if they have been led into the lobster trap of mediocrity.

The danger that society seeks to avoid in the interactions of young and old is spontaneous combustion. To avoid it, priests take vows and teachers honor professional ethics. Hip parenthood invokes a symbolic incest taboo. That problem tabled, what do the different generations get out of the interaction? I can't speak for the children. We must amuse them, as the future is always amused by savagery. Papuans marveled over cameras and shotguns; we don't own an iPod. Perhaps the young are pleased by seeing couples they do not know well enough to know their flaws (given the divorce rate, maybe they are pleased simply seeing older couples). For our part, hip parents have the satisfaction of following trends at a distance. How grim to be a middle-aged rock critic; how much better merely to

know people who know what they're hearing. It is interesting to see people more or less getting through things that once vexed you; comforting to see people who will be getting on after you're gone. They'll be around in 2047, even if Social Security isn't.

The greatest benefit for the hip parent is understanding the off-stage grandparents in this scenario, your actual mother and father. In a storm of hormones, ignorance, and the authoritative, wrong-headed advice of the world, they came together and produced miracles of design and monsters of desire, loving, hostile, unknowable. You can learn to diaper. Can you learn to accept excrement—your progeny's, yours, the world's? Multiply by every other human process. It's a big deal, reproduction. It's a wonder anyone comes out as good as he does.

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WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

### In Re World War IV

NEW YORK, JANUARY 18

**G**EORGE W. Bush is the center of attention this week. On Monday, the networks each showcased an exclusive interview with the president done in the White House. All pondered similar questions. They bore on the tactical question of Iraq (How are we doing?) and Iraq's strategic implications (Where else are we likely to do the same thing?). One questioner was blunt: Since Iraq was not in fact deploying weapons of mass destruction, what reason do you have, Mr. President, to suppose that the world will believe you if in the future you make such charges intending pre-emptive action?

Mr. Bush said that he had relied on the same intelligence which had been accepted by the U.N. (and by France and Germany); that Saddam had the capacity to manufacture WMDs, and a disposition to use such weapons; and that he would not exclude "any" option in the future, should the welfare of the U.S. require it.

His presence was remarkably serene, handling barb after barb. One had the impression that he had thought through the answers to the questions that would be raised, and was at peace with the conclusions he had arrived at.

Coincidentally, the February issue of *Commentary* carries an extended essay by Norman Podhoretz, which is a sequel to his major essay of last fall proclaiming World War IV. The new article is entitled, "The War Against World War IV."

Podhoretz's assumption is that the radical-Islamist offensive, religious and secular, is most usefully thought of as a war, and that historical logic dubs it World War IV. He goes directly to the question of the constancy of George W. Bush. It is popularly advertised that presidents tend to divert, in their second terms in office, from the emphases of

their first terms. This is not happening with Bush, says Podhoretz, citing as symbols his dismissal of Iraq skeptic Colin Powell and his remanding of Iraq enthusiast Donald Rumsfeld.

Characteristically, Podhoretz goes to the big scene but relishes opportunities to disarm the critics. He flaunts the tenacity of Bush by citing the adamance of his position on Israel. Yes, Mr. Bush has called for nationhood for the Palestinians. But the context is unchanged, insisting on an end to terrorism. Tony Blair made a trip to Washington to get something more propulsive from Bush, in the way of encouragement to Abbas and discipline of Sharon, but Bush simply reiterated the old precepts, declining a special representative. Add his continued firmness on Iraq and you get "the amazing leader this president has amazingly turned out to be. [He] will—like the comparably amazing Harry Truman before him when he took on the Communist world—have the wind at his back as he continues the struggle against Islamist radicalism and its vicious terrorist armory: a struggle whose objective is the spread of liberty and whose success will bring greater security and greater prosperity."

Podhoretz takes on the dissidents. Of course, the insurgents, but they, in the last analysis, are militarily impotent. Then the isolationists, right and left. These, he notes, have converged "into the same channel of fierce opposition to everything Bush has done in response to 9/11."

He dismisses the "superhawks" on the grounds that in calling for the kind of national mobilization that would be needed to carry forward their policies, they are living in another world. The "liberal internationalists" are losing their influence and drifting towards vituperation, even as the "realists" come up against the hard truths posed by an offensive warlike in scope.

Podhoretz, in this important essay, takes on those who balk at Bush's idealism. He quotes Bush: "Some who call themselves realists question whether the

spread of democracy in the Middle East should be any concern of ours. But the realists in this case have lost contact with a fundamental reality: America has always been less secure when freedom is in retreat; America is always more secure when freedom is on the march."

This not only sounds good, claims Podhoretz, it is good.

### Look Who's Voting

NEW YORK, JANUARY 28

**S**OME years ago my guest on *Firing Line* was Gen. Vernon Walters. He was a phenomenon who had had phenomenal experiences, among them interpreting for four different presidents in four different languages, and serving briefly as director of the CIA. He remarked, in passing, that no democratic government had ever initiated national aggression.

I was stunned by this statement, and as the exchange proceeded, attempted to run my skeptical memory over it. Surely it could not be so? But so—it is. And that revelation by General Walters orients us properly in the matter of the election in Iraq on Sunday.

Mostly, talk about the achievements of democracy is inflated. For one thing, baptism in democracy is not permanently orienting. It isn't as if a democratic election acted as a magnet, pointing a nation resolutely and incorruptibly toward liberty. We can earn the right to vote, and the majority can use that right to deprive everyone, themselves included, of liberty.

This is not the moment to engage the pretensions of democrats who act as if popular elections guaranteed liberal laws. But it repays grateful thought to dwell on Walters's point. How is it that self-governing countries decline to engage in national aggression?

It must follow that the mere democratic act has something of a sacramental character. What a boon for the countries that surround Iraq: Syria, Turkey, Iran, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan. All that they would have to fear is the intoxication of their own peoples by the experience of Iraq. During the Cold War



someone remarked that the difference between socialists in the Soviet Union and capitalists in the free world was this, that if a neighbor becomes wealthy, the capitalists who surround that neighbor will seek to imitate him. The communists would seek to undermine him. Mr. Bush has several times stressed his belief that a democratic Iraq would affect the political destinies of Iraq's neighbors. This may be too hopeful, but this is the season to express our hopes.

There has been speculation on the matter of a critical figure. It was amusing that one analyst, reporting from Baghdad, said that, conceivably, the Iraqi vote could match the vote in the United States. In the presidential election of 2004, just over half (60.7 percent) of Americans voted. The case might be made that those who did were responding to the threats of our own terrorists. If it hadn't been for words and deeds by Democrats, many Republicans would have stayed in bed.

That is the luxury of the state that takes self-government for granted. In Iraq, those who go to vote, especially in areas where the insurgents are active, are true democratic heroes. One observer said that it would be reasonable to anticipate 60 acts of terrorism on Sunday. Terrorists thrive on unpredictability. That is what gives them the great leverage they have. If we knew exactly where a terrorist would strike, the jeopardized could prepare for him, and vitiate or even abort his mission.

The other problem in Iraq reflects tribal divisions. If the Sunnis were to succeed in boycotting the election, that would be different from the failure to vote for fear of retaliation by the insurgents.

Whatever happens, it is a day of haunting significance. President Bush's statement on Thursday that of course the United States military would withdraw if the new government requested it to do so is the perfect frame for a genuinely democratic exercise.

You can't get, in Iraq, sophisticated demographics of a kind that will tell us how many failed to vote for fear of the insurgents, how many were motivated by tribal resentments. But one might hope that the European community would greet the events of Sunday with at least a measure of gratitude for what the United States has made possible.

## Shut Up, Al-Jazeera

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 1

**A** while back, the television-radio network al-Jazeera considered offering \$10,000 to anyone who could prove that the network had broadcast footage of an actual beheading by the insurgents. Although many in the region served by al-Jazeera remain adamant that such footage had been aired, al-Jazeera insisted that it had never shown the act itself. An ingenuous observer wondered why the suggested award was a mere \$10,000. Inasmuch as the network knew that it was innocent of such a broadcast, why not offer a million dollars? What do you have to lose, if you know that documentary evidence can't be forthcoming?

To frame the case against al-Jazeera on its alleged broadcast of a beheading is to commit the offense wryly described years ago by George Tyrrell. "The Jesuits," he wrote acidly, "score off the exaggeration of their critics. Accuse them of killing three men and a dog, they will triumphantly produce the dog alive." The point here being that what al-Jazeera does, day after day, is mischievous in a different sense from merely producing graphic shots of beheadings. What it does is give publicity, much of it favorable, to the kind of people who engage in beheading.

Al-Jazeera is heard and viewed by an estimated 40 million people in the volatile Middle East. It is broadcast from Qatar, which is formally friendly to the West. That oil-rich little state nominally owns AJ, which spends \$120 million per year and loses \$40 or \$50 million. (Qatar makes up the loss with a subsidy.)

Although the network provides around-the-clock service of news and commentary and entertainment, the poison resides in the news dispatches, which are anti-American and anti-Israel. AJ's management replies to its critics that, after all, it is merely engaged in discussing the news, and the excesses of Israel and of President Bush are fair and legal subjects to bring up—so what is all the fuss about? So confident is AJ of its future, it is beefing up its bureau in Washington, D.C. and has provided itself with handsome \$7 million quarters

to do this comfortably. Already it is licensed to broadcast in Canada, though it is too early to say whether the Qatar mix will be unchanged.

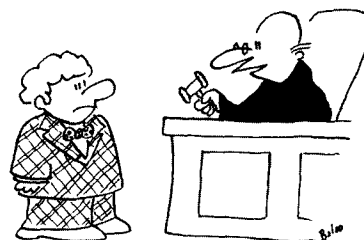
The indecision of the U.S. government in facing the aggressions of the network brilliantly illustrates the special immobilization of liberal reasoning. "Administration officials," reports the *New York Times*, "have been nervous to talk about the station, being sensitive to charges that they are trying to suppress free expression."

Well, yes. Al-Jazeera has described U.S. operations in Iraq in such a way as to provoke from Donald Rumsfeld the charge that its coverage is "vicious, inaccurate, and inexcusable." American troops are portrayed by al-Jazeera as wantonly attacking Iraqi civilians and holy sites.

It defies reason that a country at war should cavil at doing what can be done to suppress rank misrepresentations of U.S. conduct. Its broadcasts were banned, beginning last August, from Iraq. Meanwhile, the lure of anti-Semitism is powerful and perhaps not even containable. The French government has denied a base to al-Manar, Hezbollah's television network, reflecting the steady rise in the Muslim population in France and a desire not to mobilize it with anti-Semitism.

The dogma that nothing should interfere with the free expression of thought is after all a dandyish application of John Stuart Mill to inflamed situations. When there are suicide bombers wading into mosques and schools and buses, attempts to examine what it is that moves them to such activity are reasonably made. If the news commentary the entire Near East region receives stresses the spiritual nobility of killing in the name of Allah, something should stress the nobility of putting such advocates out of business.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE



"Your suit is without merit."

# happy warrior

MARK STEYN

## The Lean in the Burger

THINGS seem to be going swimmingly for America on the international scene these days, so naturally the rest of the world has decided to avert its gaze from the gloomy present and contemplate the more pleasurable landscape of mid-century when the U.S. imperium will be no more and some alternative hyper-power will rule the roost. Take your pick: Authors, scholars, and columnists have pinned their various hopes on China, India, the EU. But if you're late into the office pool there's plenty left: No takers so far for Canada, Belgium, Chad, or Vanuatu.

I'm willing to entertain the downfall of the Great Satan, but not on the grounds offered by most of these experts. If you want the gist of their argument, go to Carquefou in northwestern France. A year ago, the local schools held a competition in which pupils were required to illustrate what the United States means to them. The older students turned in the usual stuff: pictures of an enslaved Statue of Liberty being run over by Uncle Sam on a motorcycle (liberty, or at least the statue thereof, being a gift to America from France). But the younger kids had a shrewder sense of what was wanted, and offered up big bright posters of corpulent American moppets devouring giant cheeseburgers and slurping supersized sodas over explanatory slogans like "*Obesité assurée*": To French children, Americans are a race apart—strange misshapen monsters staggering from across the ocean to devour anything in their path.

When they reach adulthood and become Marxist professors and European Commissioners, those schoolkids will understand that the condition of the American behemoth approximates that of the dinosaurs of old: immense bodies, tiny brains, doomed to extinction. After which, the natural leaders of the world will resume their rightful role—or, failing that, the wiry little Chinamen. Indeed,

when Europeans fall into delirious effusions over America's imminent "imperial overstretch," the very phrase takes on awesome metaphorical power, conjuring a pair of polyester check pants straining at the seams across some almighty global butt.

As it happens, this is the precise opposite of the charge made by the original anti-Americans over two centuries ago. Back then, received opinion in Europe was that the climate made everything in the New World tiny. Two decades before the Declaration of Independence, le Comte de Buffon, France's leading biologist and head of the Royal Botanical Garden, declared, without ever having troubled to visit the continent, that "all the animals which have been transported from Europe to America—like the horse, ass, sheep, goat, hog, etc.—have become smaller." The human inhabitants faced the same fate, in every particular. The typical Indian "is feeble and small in his organs of generation; he has neither body hair nor beard nor ardor for his female." British settlers in the New World "visibly degenerated" in much the same way, according to the Abbé Raynal, another leading French thinker. The notion that Americans were small and weak became such a commonplace that Ben Franklin, while ambassador in Paris, lined up his 36 dinner guests against the wall: All 18 Americans were taller than the 18 Europeans, and the chief proponent of the shriveled-Yank thesis, Abbé Raynal, was the shortest of all.

The imperial-overstretch thesis is as wrong as the colonial-overshrunk thesis was. When you're not imperial, it's hard to be overstretched. By comparison with Rome or Britain at its zenith, America travels light. And, if it's looking for cuts, its decision to shoulder the cost of defending its wealthiest allies seems an obvious line-item for reconsideration: The first victims of any imperial overstretch by the U.S. are likely to be those most gleefully contemplating it—France, Germany, Canada, Belgium. In that sense, the

waddling lardbutt grade-schooler is a misleading symbol. The whole is leaner than the sum of its parts.

As for the tiny-brains bit, I don't take that lightly. American education starts bad and gets worse with every passing grade. British values were spread around the world by British schoolteachers, who taught the natives about Shakespeare, Magna Carta, the glories of Greece and Rome. Can you imagine what Iraqis and Afghans would think of America if you sent over the average high-school faculty? The dumbest statements since 9/11 have been made by the folks with the biggest brains. American parents save their entire working lives to send their children to colleges where the make-believe Cherokee professor claims the victims of 9/11 were "little Eichmanns" who had it coming or the gay dean of the Ethnic Studies College proudly declares himself Queen Bitch of the Universe, to cite two recent examples. I'd be in favor of a federal law mandating that every person in America automatically receive a complimentary college degree on his 21st birthday, thereby freeing up parents to invest their hard-earned dough in Internet cafés in Kabul.

Most of us automatically discount the "little Eichmanns" blather: These guys are decadent but they're blowhards; it means nothing, goes nowhere. But read Harvey Kushner's new book, *Holy War on the Home Front*, which opens with the case of Sami al-Arian, the computer-science professor at the University of South Florida whose extracurricular activities included raising money for and directing the activities of Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and who numbered among his longtime buddies Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, the brains behind 9/11 and the murder of Daniel Pearl. The reflex defense of Professor al-Arian by America's academic community protected him for years and thereby advanced his causes. It's foolish to assume that air-head eggheads who talk the talk don't, consciously or otherwise, help those who walk the walk.

Those French schoolchildren got it backwards. The U.S. won't collapse because of its flabby butts. The flabby brains of our Queen Megabitches in the groves of academe are a slyer challenge.

NR

## Health News—Winter Eye Protection

In the summer, sunglasses are a fashion accessory...

# In The Winter, These Sunglasses May Save Your Life!



**D**riving in winter can expose you to more dangerous glare than on any sunny summer day...do you know how to protect yourself? An amazing breakthrough in optic technology by NASA scientists working independently, called Eagle Eyes® may be your answer. In winter, the sun rises and sets at peak travel periods, during the early morning and afternoon rush hours. Many drivers find themselves temporarily blinded as they are driving directly into the glare of the sun. Deadly accidents are regularly caused by such blinding glare. Danger can come from reflected light off of another vehicle, from the pavement, or any other reflective surface. Early morning frost and snow can exacerbate this situation. Salted road conditions can make matters even worse. Yet, motorists struggle on despite being blinded by the sun's glare and cause countless accidents every year.

### Beware of winter glare!

This glare-induced "blindness" is especially prevalent during the winter months, due to the lower elevation of the sun in the sky and the extremely reflective qualities

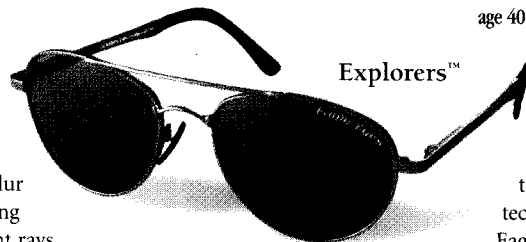
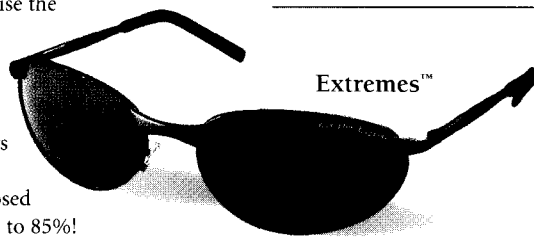
of snow and ice on the ground. The powerful glare of the winter sun can be damaging to the various layers of the eye.

Because snow is so reflective, it can raise the amount of UV and blue light rays that you are exposed to by up to 85%!

### NASA's researchers looked to nature for a solution.

Conventional sunglasses can actually blur your vision by allowing harmful UV, blue light rays, and reflective glare in. They also can darken useful, vision-enhancing light rays. At NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory scientists looked to nature for a solution by studying the eyes of eagles, known for their extreme visual acuity. The result of this breakthrough technology is Eagle Eyes®. NASA's researchers studied how eagles can simultaneously distinguish their

prey from their surroundings with utmost precision, while protecting their eyes from the daily exposure of harmful high-energy sunlight.



\*Eagle Eyes are patented, officially recognized NASA Spinoff technology and are on display at NASA's Houston Space Visitors Center.



Slip on a pair of Eagle Eyes and everything instantly appears more vivid and sharp. You'll immediately notice that your eyes are more comfortable and relaxed and you'll feel no need to squint. These scientifically designed sunglasses are not just fashion accessories for the summer; they are necessary to protect your eyes from those harmful rays produced by the sun in the winter.

### Patented triple filtering lens system.

With a patented triple filtering system, Eagle Eyes® will reduce the blinding glare you may encounter while driving or enjoying outside activities. The lenses will also block the UV light while enhancing the colors of your surrounding environment. Eagle Eyes® provides 100% eye protection from harmful blue, violet and ultraviolet light rays.

## HEALTH FACT

According to American Academy of Ophthalmology, repeated exposure to the sun's rays can contribute to the development of eye disorders that commonly occur as we age. UV rays can contribute to the development of cataracts. Cataracts are the most prevalent age-related eye disease and according to the World Health Organization, the leading cause of blindness. There are currently close to 20.5 million Americans age 40 and older with cataracts.

### Not just one pair.

We are so anxious for you to try the Eagle Eyes® breakthrough technology that when you try the Eagle Eyes® Extremes™ we will give you the Explorers™ FREE! You'll also receive one hard leatherette case and one soft cloth pouch so you can carry and protect your Eagle Eyes® in style. Plus, if you are not thrilled with the Eagle Eyes® technology, just send them back for a full refund of the purchase price.

Eagle Eyes® Sunglasses Extremes™ only \$49.95 + S&H  
Receive the Explorers™ absolutely FREE!—2 pair for the price of one!  
Promotional Code EGL106-01  
Please mention this when you call.  
Call to order toll-free,  
24 hours a day, 7 days a week.  
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Burnsville, Minnesota 55337

# What Will We Do When the Bell Sounds?



KURT M. LANDGRAF,  
PRESIDENT & CEO, ETS

When the bell rings in high schools around the country this morning, will our schools be equipped to deliver excellence? Recent trends are not encouraging.

Between 1990 and 2000, the high school completion rate in the United States fell 3.3 percent. We now rank 17th among developed nations in the percentage of youth graduating from high school.

Among the states, there is a yawning disparity on high school completion rates, ranging from a high of 88 percent to a low of 48 percent.

Most troubling of all, the grades at which students are dropping out have shifted — from 11 and 12 a generation ago, to grades 9 and 10 today. Dropouts are younger, less educated and less prepared for work, life and democracy than ever before.

That's the bad news. Here's the good news: Just as the No Child Left Behind Act is bringing tougher standards and accountability to grades K-8, there's a growing realization that we need to do the same for our secondary schools.

President Bush has made high school reform a centerpiece of his domestic agenda. In the states,

Gov. Mark Warner of Virginia, chair of the National Governors Association, is leading a drive to redesign the American high school. The drive will be the subject of a high school reform "summit" this month.

"It is time for a new approach to high school," Governor Warner says, "one that both challenges our students more and gives them new opportunities to engage in meaningful, lifelong learning."

ETS is committed to high school reform. We believe high schools need rigorous curricula, taught by highly qualified teachers overseen by school leaders able to attract and retain highly qualified faculty.

In the coming weeks, we will publish research that examines high school completion rates. Our research will serve as a warning on the status quo, a benchmark for progress, and a platform for a vigorous national debate on high school reform.

When the bell rings in high schools this morning, we must be prepared to deliver excellence.

At ETS, we're listening to educators, parents and policymakers. We're learning from sound research. And we're leading the effort to achieve both informed public policy and informed educational practice.

*Listening. Learning. Leading.*



Continue the conversation. Log On. Let's Talk. [www.ets.org/letstalk1.html](http://www.ets.org/letstalk1.html)